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UN Peace Group Commander, Officers Begin Mission

Arrive in Baghdad

LD1708125688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1225 GMT 17 Aug 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Baghdad, August 17 (TANJUG)—A little before 14.00 hours local time today, U.N. Iran Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG) commander Major General Slavko Jovic arrived in Baghdad with a group of Yugoslav officers.

Gen. Jovic was greeted at the airport by a troup of Iraqi high officials and the commander of the U.N. group in Baghdad, Finnish General Urho Helanen. The welcome was attended also by Yugoslav Ambassador to Iraq Stojan Andov.

In a brief statement to the press, Gen. Jovic said he would consult his collaborators and immediately take on the tasks given to him by U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar.

After this one-day visit to Baghdad, Gen. Jovic continues for Tehran.

Longer UN Stay Predicted

LD1808084688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0527 GMT 18 Aug 88

["Iran: Between War and Peace"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpt] Tehran, August 18 (TANJUG)—Peacemaking in the Gulf has finally begun after eight years of fighting, one year of waiting for Iran's acceptance of peace Resolution 598 and one month after Iranian religious-political leaders accepted an end to the war. 350 officers observers from 24 countries will be distributed along both sides of the 1200km-long Iran-Iraq border (still referred to as the front) by Friday morning [19 Aug], one day before the cease- fire becomes effective.

Unarmed forces of the United Nations, the U.N. Iran Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG), will patrol along both the Iranian and the Iraqi sides in the next six months. Well-informed military observers claim that the six months could well turn into a full year or more, as was the case with the 12-year-long presence of the peace forces in Lebanon.

The "blue helmets", under the command of Yugoslav Major General Slavko Jovic, are the first evidence of the implementation of U.N. Resolution 598 which should take the two countries from a state of war to peace. The fulfillment of the resolution's ten tasks will mark the beginning of peace in the Gulf, and supervision over the execution of the first task has been entrusted to the peace corps.

The six-month mandate of the observers could easily be extended because of the second part of their task—monitoring the withdrawal of the warring sides to their territories. Although the front now almost coincides with the former international border, the border is still disputed. Baghdad proclaimed the 1975 Algerian agreement invalid when war broke out. The agreement had solved the problem of the border with the signatures of then Persian Emperor Reza Pahlavi and Iraqi President Saddam Hussayn.

Officials in Tehran claim that the Algerian agreement is still effective since as they say, under international law, it could not have been simply abolished.

The key problem is the Shatt al-'Arab river. While Iranians claim that the border lies along the middle of the river, Iraqis demand full sovereignty over this navigable river and their main exit into the Gulf.

In addition to the Shatt al-'Arab, there are some other minor territories in the north. Until this is settled at the peace negotiations which open in Geneva on August 25, the withdrawal of the warring sides to the international frontier remains an impossible task. Iranian officials, including foreign Minister Velayati, already claim that no patriot will give up his part of the Shatt al-'Arab. [passage omitted]

Diplomatic Relations With Angola Agreed

AU1708185188 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Proceeding from the desire to develop relations between their two countries, the Governments of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and of the People's Republic of Angola have agreed to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Arrives 17 Aug

AU1708185488 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Aug

[Text] Takujiro Hamada, deputy foreign minister of Japan for parliamentary affairs, arrived today for a visit to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. He was welcomed at Rinas Airport by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and officials of the ministries of foreign affairs and foreign trade. Akiro Matsui, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Japanese Embassy in Tirana, was also present.

Muhamet Kapllani received Takujiro Hamada and had a friendly talk with him. They discussed the development of relations between Albania and Japan to date and the possibility of their further development, particularly in the field of economic, trade, scientific, and technological exchanges. They also exchanged ideas about certain aspects of the present international situation.

Further Harvest Reports From Districts Released

AU1708093188 [Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 12, 13, and 14 August carries on the first page of each issue letters from various district bodies to Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, reporting wheat harvest results.

ZERI I POPULLIT on 12 August carries a 1,000-word letter to Alia from a meeting of representatives of 32 agricultural cooperatives in Korce District. According to the letter, Korce District has fulfilled its wheat production plan by 102.5 percent, and its wheat delivery plan by 100 percent. The letter states that the district "has achieved its highest yield ever," and has produced 222,000 more quintals of wheat, and delivered 213,000 more quintals of this grain, than in 1987.

ZERI I POPULLIT on 13 August carries an 800-word letter to Alia from the Aktiv of Working People in Agriculture in Pogradec District. According to the letter, Pogradec District has exceeded its wheat production plan by 3.5 percent or 4,000 quintals, and has produced 53,000 quintals more wheat than in 1987. The letter states that the wheat and rye delivery plans were fulfilled by 100 percent, and that the vegetable and milk delivery plans were also 100 percent fulfilled.

ZERI I POPULLIT on 14 August carries an 800-word letter to Alia from Skrapar District AWP Aktiv, which states that Skrapar District has fulfilled its wheat production plan by 103 percent and its wheat delivery plan by 100 percent. The letter claims the district obtained a wheat yield of 26 quintals per hectare, compared with a planned yield of 25 quintals, and asserts that "this is the highest yield ever attained in our district." The letter also states that the milk production plan has been fulfilled, the milk delivery plan has been exceeded by 20 percent, the meat production and delivery plans have been fulfilled, and the vegetable production and delivery plans have been exceeded.

Greek CP Leader Florakis on Official Visit

Received by Zhivkov

AU1608180088 Sofia BTA in English 1721 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Varna, August 16 (BTA)—Today Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, met Mr. Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the Communist Party of Greece, who is paying a brief visit to Bulgaria.

The two party leaders paid special attention to the processes of innovation in the socialist countries. Mr. Todor Zhivkov spoke in detail of the radically new approaches and formulations underlying the concept of the Bulgarian Communist Party adopted at the July 1987 plenum. Mr. Kharilaos Florakis stressed the international importance of the restructuring in Bulgaria, in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries and its influence on the communist movement and in the struggle for peace and social progress.

The two general secretaries observed that important changes to the better are now taking place in international life as a result of the consistent foreign policy activities of the socialist countries and above all of the Soviet Union. In this context they stressed the new dynamism which has recently been imparted to constructive dialogue between the Balkan countries in the name of security, goodneighbourliness and cooperation. It was stressed that the promotion of trust and friendship between Bulgaria and Greece is playing an important role in this respect.

Mr. Kharilaos Florakis spoke of the work of the Greek Communists in defense of the democratic rights and freedoms of the working people and for doing away with the U.S. bases and nuclear weapons in Greece.

The meeting confirmed the mutual wish to promote the cooperation between the two parties. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 16 August carries a similar report on the Zhivkov-Florakis meeting and adds: "The meeting was attended by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee."]

Speaks to Press

AU1708163888 Sofia BTA in English 1601 GMT 17 Aug 88

["Kharilaos Florakis: Restructuring Is International in Nature"—BTA headline]

[Text] Varna, August 17 (BTA)—Mr Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece (K.K.E.), met the press today to discuss his session with Mr Todor Zhivkov, the significance of the Belgrade meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers and the top priorities of the Communist Party of Greece.

"The restructuring under way in Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was high on the agenda of my conversation with Todor Zhivkov," Mr Florakis said. "This is only natural, as this process is not just a result of the problems facing socialist society but is an objective necessity." He pointed out that restructuring is consistent with the interests of the workers' and the national movements in the world, the communist movement in Greece included.

Mr Kharilaos Florakis said that the Communist Party of Greece commends highly every new step along the road of inter-Balkan cooperation as a step towards the stabilisation of peace in the region. "This will undoubtedly help overcome the bilateral problems which exist between some Balkan states."

Asked about the top priority of the Communist Party of Greece at this stage, Mr Florakis said that Greek society needs deep-going reforms along socialist lines. The country's dependence on the United States and on NATO should be eliminated. Other important tasks include the country's democratisation and economic development. "Regrettably, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) did not keep its promises and carried out only limited reforms within the framework of the existing social system," said the secretary general of the CC of the K.K.E. The question at this stage, in the view of Mr Kharilaos Florakis, is to identify the forces that can meet the objective requirements. At its 10th congress, the Communist Party of Greece found a specific answer to this question: There are forces which are both willing and capable of carrying out social reforms. These are the left-wing forces, the forces of progress, provided they rally on a common platform envisaging radical change along socialist lines, said Mr Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the CC of the K.K.E.

Journalists Union on Politburo Press Decision

AU1608171488 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 33 15 Aug 88 pp 1,4

[Unattributed report: "Program of Renewal"]

[Text] On 10 August the Bureau of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists reviewed the decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo on the qualitatively new role of the press in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the tasks of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists which stem from this decision.

The unanimous opinion was that the fundamental premises and practical trends of the decision are a strategic program of renewing Bulgarian journalism, whose functions and importance increase in conditions of further constructing the socialist society in our country, outlined by the BCP July Concept.

Expressing worthy recognition of the mass media's contribution to the party struggle to construct socialism in Bulgaria after the historic April plenum, the BCP Central

Committee Politburo now sets the mass media the responsible and inspiring task of raising their activity to a new level by turning into more efficient instruments of restructuring, and acquiring new rights, obligations, and responsibilities.

Glasnost, public dialogue, discussions, high professionalism, and the principle of ethics in the spirit of democratic restructuring and socialist self-management incorporated in the foundation of the BCP July plenum, are the basic principles and trends which will assert the new role of the press and mass media.

This naturally sets Bulgarian journalists the task of increasing their political culture, strengthening their creative skill, and improving the organization of their work. The new structure and social status of the press, which reveal broad possibilities for modernizing and enriching the functional, contextual, thematic, and professional aspects, of our journalism, are related to this goal.

The Union of Bulgarian Journalists as a self-managing creative organization of the Bulgarian journalists acquires a special role and importance under the new conditions in which our press, television, radio, and publishing houses will develop in the future. This requires a fundamental restructuring of the organization and methods of work of the union which, in accordance with the processes of democratization and self-management in our society, must set the public principle at the basis of its activity, the creative ascent of journalism, individual and collective initiative, care for the professional qualifications and expression of the journalists, and the defense of their professional and social interests, and thus cooperate in perfecting and developing our entire information system.

In connection with the decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, the Bureau of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists discussed practical measures related to the union's participation in implementing that decision. For this purpose, a plan-timetable of the tasks of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists was worked out. It envisages the development and implementation of a new model of the union's organization and functions; cooperation with the legislative organs in preparing the law on the press; and preparing drafts of an exemplary model and of norms for the number of various editorial boards and information-propaganda institutes. The document also envisages active union participation in developing a new system of selecting, training, and improving the professional and creative qualifications as well as the union's cooperation in reorganizing the field of advertising and developing a new payment tariff for advertisements.

It was also decided to dedicate this year's traditional 10 days of "Journalism—Topical Creativity," which take place every fall, to the issue of intellectual restructuring and tasks stemming from the decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo on the qualitatively new social role of the press.

The Bureau of the Union of Bulgarian journalists expressed its firm conviction that all its members, stimulated by the possibilities of social and creative expression of every honest and capable journalist that have been revealed by the decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, will devote their energies and inspiration to the qualitative and timely implementation of the decision.

Protest of 1968 Soviet Invasion Quashed

Leaflet Distributors Detained

AU1808113788 Rome ANSA in English
0817 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] (ANSA) Prague, [No date as received]—Eight activists from the vocal civil rights group, the Italian Radical Party, were detained while handing out leaflets to mark the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, according to members of the group here.

The sources said the leaflet campaign started three days ago in Kolin near Prague, near Brno, and near Bratislava and Ceske Budejovice in South Bohemia.

The sources said Wednesday that some of those handing out leaflets were presumed detained after they failed to turn up at the rendez-vous fixed for the end of the campaign.

The leaflet, which was distributed in thousands in Czech, described the action as a non-violent protest against the Soviet intervention and in defence of human and civil rights.

The leaflets also urged the Czechoslovak Government to respect the Helsinki [accord] signed in 1975, and to free all political prisoners and prisoners of conscience.

The Italian radicals, one of whose symbols is Gandhi, also urged the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and full respect for the freedom of thought, the press, and religion.

Police Arrest Demonstrators

AU1808114188 Paris AFP in English
1031 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Prague, Aug 18 (AFP)—Ten people were seized by police here Thursday when they unfurled a long banner that read "Soviet Troops Out" in St. Wenceslas Square.

The incident, lasting several minutes, came two days before the 20th anniversary of the Soviet intervention that ended the brief period of reforms known as the "Prague Spring."

The banner, about 20 meters (65 feet) long, also showed a tank with the dates 1968-1988 and the words "Together for democracy" and "Human rights."

Two other demonstrators climbed on the statue of St. Wenceslas, the patron saint of Bohemia, where they displayed a smaller banner with the word "Svoboda" (Freedom).

All the demonstrators were taken away by the police, apparently under arrest.

The demonstration was organized by the Italian-based Radical Party, which considers itself transnational. A Radical member of the European Parliament, Giovanni Negri, and the editor of the agency Radical News, Gabriele Paci, were among the demonstrators.

Several hundred people, including many tourists and some journalists, witnessed the demonstration. Some clapped.

Before his arrest, Mr. Negri said he was 11 years old on August 20, 1968 when tanks from the Soviet Union and four other Warsaw Pact countries rolled into Prague, ending the political liberalization of Communist Party leader Alexander Dubcek.

"I perfectly remember the shock that this monstrous intervention caused," Mr. Negri said. "I felt a sort of moral debt to commemorate this anniversary."

He said that in the past few days, members of the radical group that included two Belgians, two Spaniards and an American as well as several Italians distributed pamphlets protesting the intervention and calling for the respect of human rights in Czechoslovakia.

West Europeans Expelled

AU1808132188 Paris AFP in English
1207 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Paris, Aug 18 (AFP)—Six Italian and two Spanish members of the Italian-based Radical Party have been expelled from Czechoslovakia for protesting against the 1968 Soviet invasion there, the organization said here Thursday.

Meanwhile party militants, including Giovanni Negri, a member of the European Parliament, staged a fresh demonstration early Thursday in Prague, the party said in statement released in the French capital.

(Reports from the Czechoslovak capital said police arrested 10 of them, including Mr. Negri, several minutes after the start of the protest. The incident came two days before the 20th anniversary of the invasion which crushed a brief period of liberalization known as the "Prague Spring".)

Czechoslovak authorities Wednesday arrested Massimo Lensi, Monica Cozzi and Andrea Tamburri, from the central Italian city of Florence, after they distributed more than 2,000 pamphlets in Brno, the party statement said.

After lengthy questioning by police, they were expelled into Austria.

Three other Italians and two Spaniards were expelled the same day to Austria and West Germany after being arrested in Prague.

Charter 77 Demands Party Admit Truth on '68

AU1808124988 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Aug 88 p 5

["Charter 77 statement on the occasion of 21 August, published in Prague: Without the Truth Nothing Can Improve"]

[Text] The attack on the peacefully sleeping CSSR on the night of 20-21 August 1968 by the armies of the five Warsaw Pact states constituted the largest military operation in Europe since World War II. It was aimed at strengthening the imperial rule over our country and thwarting the efforts of its people to bring about a political renewal and a more human social system. Against the will of the entire people, foreign troops forced a leadership upon the CSSR which included officials for whom the interests of the Brezhnev leadership in the Soviet Union were more important than those of their own people—officials who were as unqualified as those who installed them. Their kind of rule affected not only tens of thousands of people who were removed from their posts or subjected to persecutions in the most varied forms, and not only those whose previous hopes for a better and freer life were shattered. This rule affected in a disastrous manner the whole society, including the youngest generation; in fact, its members may even be the ones who are suffering most from the undemocratic system that was forced upon them. The comprehensive moral, intellectual, social, political, economic, cultural, and ecological devastation of our country as an immediate consequence of the August 1968 occupation constitutes a real national disaster.

Total Power of the Bureaucracy [subhead]

This historic event—the 20th anniversary will remind us of it—is one that has a direct impact on the present: To this very day, the power of bureaucracy has been reigning absolutely in the CSSR, supported by the omnipotence of the police which was renewed and consolidated by the 1968 intervention. To this very day, the world has been facing the international consequences: For the Brezhnev leadership it was also an experiment on how far it could go with its hegemonic policy, and thus it became practically a prelude to the war in Afghanistan, the suppression of Solidarity in Poland, and political dangers in general that again poisoned the international climate and led to a renewed arms race.

The 20th anniversary of this unparalleled act of violence is taking place at a special time. The new Soviet leadership is assessing the past era in a comprehensive and critical manner and strives for a renewal of Soviet society, a fundamental reform of the political and economic system, and a new foreign policy. Thus, the guard of Brezhnev supporters in the CSSR are facing international isolation. What is more, in spite of their verbal imitation of Gorbachev, in their own country they are also confronted with an isolation that is becoming more and more apparent. The people, who were deeply frustrated by the occupation and its consequences, have silently and passively accepted the occupation's ideology and practices for many years, but now their behavior is no longer as passive as it used to be. On the contrary: It can be observed in many spheres that people are no longer willing to put up with everything and to stifle their convictions.

The ruling powers are starting to panic. The more they are afraid of the authentic expressions of the will of society that are emerging spontaneously from below, the more wantonly they try to suppress them. In this, they can rely on nothing but the argument—used a thousand times and no longer fit to convince anybody—that everything that is not subject to their central manipulation is "antisocialist." Since they derive their whole power from the authority of the Brezhnev tanks, they are rejecting in an almost desperate manner any kind of truth about the events that took place 20 years ago. Under the current circumstances, however, no change for the better is possible without the truth.

Therefore, we call on all citizens to shake off the burden of fear and to express their opinion freely about the intervention on 21 August 1968 and about the policy that it entailed. We call on the CSSR Government not to reject this truth. If indeed somebody called the foreign troops into our country, as official sources occasionally claim, we call on him to step out of cowardly anonymity, to assume responsibility for it, and to explain his behavior. However, if nobody called the troops, this should finally be stated openly and clearly. The longer the current ruling powers refuse to accept the truth that is known to the whole society, the greater their isolation will be, the more dramatic the future path toward renewal could turn out to be, and the greater the shame will be for those who will ultimately have to leave their posts, those who were installed by the occupying power and who suppressed the creative potential of people for 20 years.

Moscow's Joint Responsibility [subhead]

Finally, we call on the Soviet leadership to break this taboo, to create room for a factual assessment of the 1968 events, and to draw conclusions. Not only in the interests of the CSSR, but also in the interest of the credibility of its new policy, the Soviet Union should accept the joint responsibility for the fate of the CSSR during the most recent past. The fact that the CSSR did not confirm the justness of its cause with armed resistance—as did the people in Afghanistan—and was probably not in a position to confirm it, is not the only reason why one cannot keep silent about the occupation in 1968.

We are of the opinion that the two decades that have elapsed since the year 1968 have provided sufficient distance to assess the 1968 events without passion and bitterness. We do not call for revenge. We only call for the truth. The truth about what happened and the truth

about what exists today cannot be separated from each other; without accepting the truth about the past, the future cannot be assessed, and without accepting the truth about the present, the status quo cannot be essentially improved.

Stanislav Devaty, Milos Hajek, Bohumir Janat,
Charter 77 spokesmen

Party Expresses 'Gratitude' for 1968 Invasion
LD1808091888 Prague CTK in English
0750 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 18 (CTK)—"The five fraternal countries deserve our profound gratitude for their aid to Czechoslovakia against counter-revolution in August 1968," the Czechoslovak Communist Party weekly TVORBA said in its latest issue.

"We say this together with a feeling of responsibility for the bitter moments we caused in the international communist and progressive movement by our mistakes and loosening the screw for opportunism and revisionism."

The weekly said that lack of unity in the party was the main obstacle preventing the Czechoslovak working class and working people from taking resolute steps against the counter-revolution by themselves.

In another part of the article, TVORBA said that the bourgeois propaganda and individuals from the ranks of former right-wingers are trying to blacken August 21 as a mistake of the "Brezhnev era". Longer research and consideration will evidently be required to separate the essence of internationalist aid from a number of phenomenal aspects. "Mutual internationalist solidarity of the socialist countries and their communist parties, mutual assistance at times of dire need, and joint interest in the preservation of socialism and its defence against retardation forces are, and let us believe will remain to be, principles valid irrespective of the subjective errors of one or another politician. Another question in each individual case is the choice of the specific way of mutual aid, the most suitable time and the like. If these aspects of the matter become a subject of deeper and more critical evaluation also in our case, the fact will remain unchanged that a helpful hand was offered to us at the eleventh hour in August."

TVORBA went on to point to a change in anti-Czechoslovak arguments in the bourgeois propaganda. Prevalent from the end of the 1970's were neo-conservative theories, overtly hostile to socialism as well as to everything progressive. They criticized even the right wing in Czechoslovakia in 1968 for failure to counter socialism by all means, including violence.

"In the recent period, a tactical turn came in these anti-Czechoslovak arguments. Dubcek and similar quasi-reformers are again being brought into prominence to repeat, through the Austrian and Italian television, Voice of America and other media, the twenty-year-old song: They were striving only to improve socialism, anti-socialist forces were unimportant, the internationalist intervention was unnecessary and the policy of consolidation has taken Czechoslovakia from bad to worse."

Such is also these people's idea about our "revision", TVORBA said and added: "There is not the least factual reason for anything of this sort. On the contrary, the past twenty years have unequivocally confirmed the basic ideas expressed in 'the lesson drawn from the crisis development in the party and society after the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia'."

Lessons of '68 for Current Restructuring Discussed
AU1708173388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
12 Aug 88 p 3

[Second part of a roundtable discussion on the year 1968 with "journalists, scientists, witnesses, and direct participants in the events of the time"; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Josef Valenta, chief editor of ZIVOT STRANY: [Passage omitted] It is up to teams of theorists and politicians to draw lessons from the year 1968 for today. But what are the most important lessons, according to my judgment? We must not let ourselves be deterred from explaining the events of 1968 as this is necessary in connection with the necessity of restructuring. If we gave up restructuring, we would be committing the same mistakes as those that had led to 1968. If it was necessary then to tackle social problems that had become ripe, it is even more pressing today. We are now in a new stage, that of scientific and technical revolution, of new technologies; the social, psychological, and ideological climate is different. People support restructuring and most of them want to take an active part in its implementation. We must fulfill their expectations and see and deal with real problems. Otherwise they could let themselves be lured by the slogans of others.

Another lesson concerns the party, on whose initiative restructuring is taking place and which also is responsible for implementing revolutionary changes. The party will carry them out if it is united and firm, if it is tied with the people and has their trust, if it correctly implements the Leninist concept of the vanguard of society, and if it renews the best traditions of Bolshevism—naturally, while account is taken of today's conditions and needs. The path to this goal leads via the democratization of the party itself and the democratization of its leading role.

The international and the specific in restructuring are the subject of many discussions today. Naturally, we implement restructuring in Czechoslovakia and we take this into consideration. As a matter of fact, no one forces us to proceed any differently. This matter is fully in our

hands. However, restructuring also contains basic international elements—the attainment of a qualitatively higher economic performance on the basis of science and technology and a fundamental economic reform; the development of social forces and individual activity by way of democratization and the policy of glasnost; new thinking in foreign policy; and so forth. These international aspects of restructuring are crucial and they are fully binding also for us. Our attitude, the attitude of Czechoslovak Communists to the experiences of the international communist and workers movement, to the experiences of the party of Lenin, was expressed by Klement Gottwald after the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, which discussed the Bolshevization of our party. At that time he said that we take from Russian Bolshevism that which has international validity. Even after 60 years his words have lost none of their relevance.

Finally, we must not let ourselves be thrown into confusion. Our adversaries at home and abroad vehemently avow their allegiance to restructuring. It goes without saying that they are trying, and will continue to try, to exploit the ongoing process of democratization for their own benefit, that they will be stirring up mud. They will continue to maintain that we are doing what they wanted to do in 1968. But this is music for political simpletons. After all, our restructuring serves to strengthen socialism and multiply its resources and attractiveness, and not to dismantle and, subsequently, liquidate it.

Eugen Hanisko, first deputy director of Czechoslovak Television in Bratislava: After almost 2 decades since the adoption of the document "Lessons Drawn from the Crisis Development" there is a reason to ponder and analyze this document and the approach to it.

First of all, it is quite logical that, from the very moment of its adoption, right-wing and antisocialist forces have been explicitly rejecting it and disapproving of its content. This is natural because it depicts and analyzes their activity in a true light. It is evident that they will never agree with that document. They will conduct an active struggle against it and seek all kinds of arguments to prove that there is no truth in the "Lessons."

Another thing is approach to the "Lessons" in Czechoslovakia from today's viewpoint. In a way, even while being drafted this document was perceived as a starting point opening possibilities for a creative and active solution of problems in Czechoslovakia. In some respect the document took stock of unresolved problems, the causes of the crisis development, and showed with which problems society must deal in order to be set in motion and renew the dynamism of its development. I believe that such a creative approach to the document "Lessons" is essential at present, too.

I know from my own experience, however, that there has also been a different tendency. What I mean is that some comrades have perceived the document as an attempt to conserve something, as an attempt at some sort of a return to the period preceding the crisis. We should ponder also these matters, especially in connection with restructuring in the Soviet Union, because the matters which the Soviet Union has now started to tackle in connection with restructuring could have been tackled also by us in the preceding period, much earlier, more flexibly, and more readily. My impression is that even our problems today are to a certain extent a consequence of the incomprehensive and inadequate solution of matters to which the "Lessons" had drawn attention.

Milan Matous, deputy director of the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism: As far as the "Lessons" are concerned, we all will surely agree that they represent the platform on which the party united its ranks. With the passing of time, the basic ideas of the "Lessons" have been confirmed. This definitely does not mean, however, that the events of the year 1968 do not deserve further research and evaluation. Each science, if it is to develop, represents in some way the reassessment of previous knowledge. Naturally, it is something else when "reassessment" is brandished by Radio Free Europe or former representatives of the right wing. Their aim is to turn realities upside down in order to claim that there was no counterrevolution in 1968, that the allies' internationalist assistance was unnecessary, and that consolidation meant the thwarting of a virtuous cause. We reject such a "reassessment" because it does not conform with the truth. However, we ponder the events of 1968 and their causes from the sharper angle of vision of restructuring and also from a new, critical historical perspective.

I think, first of all, that we should more carefully separate the wheat from the chaff and identify what was really healthy in 1968, wise, well-intentioned, and justified and that we sometimes threw out like the proverbial baby with the bath water. This applies, for example, to the stricter separation of the tasks of the party and of state or economic agencies, to economic intensification, self-management in plants, and the like. One cannot ignore the interpretation which the right wing gave to all this at that time. The chisel of knowledge must be steered by a delicate hand so that the healthy ideas become more distinctly separated from the hostile ones.

Another question is why the good ideas sometimes fell into oblivion. The counterrevolution posed a basic question —either, or; the basic question of power. When the survival of socialism was at stake, a number of things naturally receded into background. We are returning to some of them only today, with a delay.

One issue that deserves greater attention is the analysis of various political and ideological stances, currents, and tendencies of individual groups or figures and their metamorphoses in the course of 1968. The basic characterization of antisocialist and right-wing opportunist forces remains valid and there is no reason to change it. What matters, however, is to draw lessons from a more profound and differentiated analysis. This applies

mainly to those who wavered but are no enemies. There were a number of people who had drifted to right-wing positions and served a bad cause; it was necessary and correct to expel them from the party and rule out their influence on political life. However, at that time many of them did not even understand which cause they were serving, in fact. We have faith in the strength of truth, in the strength of Marxism-Leninism, we believe that somebody who erred can begin to see. Today it is necessary to stretch out the hand to everyone who sincerely wants to join the process of restructuring. But this is an approach that we adopted as early as the 14th CPCZ Congress.

Josef Valenta: This is an immensely important thing, to win everyone for restructuring, including those who objectively erred in those days. This does not mean, naturally, that we will grant political pardon to all. We could not even do that because many of the militant ones are abroad, standing on the other side of the barricade. The issue is, however, to win every upright person for socialism, for restructuring, even if he erred; that is immensely important. This means, in other words, to forsake the saying that you cannot make an omelet without breaking eggs. [passage omitted]

Milan Matous: The lesson from that time has been paid for dearly and we must lose none of it [sentence as published]. It is our duty to say this; this is our duty toward those who were the main protagonists at that time and, above all, toward those who are 30 or 35 today and to whom we shall pass the baton. It is important to recall again that not everybody participated equally in deformations and that there were people who were disoriented and found themselves in situations with which they were unable to cope. And, naturally, it is important to recall, first and foremost, that there were also fighters at that time who did not fail even the most difficult tests, that there were people around who deserve the credit for the fact that our party and society overcame the crisis and its consequences and fully restored the socialist development of society. [passage omitted]

Resolution on Severe Pollution Problem Drafted

AU1608193988 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Aug 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Responsibility for the Environment"]

[Excerpt] The problems pertaining to the creation and protection of the environment and the rational use of natural resources have reached such an extent that the CSSR Government had to issue an instruction to work out a statewide concept for the fundamental solution of the issue. It returned the first draft for supplementary work and it dealt with the second version at the end of last month; then it adopted and determined fundamental objectives in the environmental sphere. Projects which do not respect environmental protection must not be started in the future. Let us recall that the CPSL Congress also voiced such a demand, addressed, above all, to the national committees. The Federal Government has further decided to build new facilities for the protection of the water, the atmosphere, and the disposal or recycling of wastes and existing sources of pollution. Let us add here that in the current 5-year plan alone we earmarked more than Kcs6 billion for the solution of ecological problems.

The importance of the CSSR Government's resolution, which proceeds in its preparation from the Main Directions of the CSSR Economic and Social Development for the 1986-90 Period and the Outlook Through the Year 2000, would be much more distinct if we would be able to express the extent of the pollution of the environment and the damage caused by it in all contexts and in korunas. Thus far, we can only operate with more or less accurate estimates.

However, we do not lack arguments: According to several tests, we are second in Europe in terms of the content of sulphur per square meter. Prague, the North Bohemia brown coal basin, and the Ostrava region are some of the worst affected areas, but Bratislava, Ziar nad Hronom, Sered, and other localities are also not far behind. Although our water resources are fairly meager, we are wasting drinking water; one-fifth of it seeps back into the ground without doing any good. The pollution of rivers continues; since the beginning of the year we have registered 29 accidents in the upper and central section of the River Vah alone. We are alarmed by the erosion of agricultural soil; 54 percent of it is endangered and the East Slovak region, especially, is affected by wind erosion.

There is no doubt that the interest of the public in ecological problems has increased of late; the activity developed by the national committees and other organizations in that respect deserves support and recognition. "As much as we welcome the interest of and the extensive activity by people regarding the issues of environmental protection, we are against such activity by individuals, which misleads citizens by spreading 'ecological pessimism' and elicits mistrust in the strength and potential of our system and in the party policy," noted a report delivered at the CPSL Central Committee session in January. The slander of these individuals even goes so far as to say that they would like best to bill socialism for the harm inflicted on the environment. However, their arguments have weak spots. This is revealed by facts from other countries: It has been ascertained that half of the emissions in the air are being "exported" to our country from sources located on the other side of the CSSR's southern and western borders. It has been ascertained that 59.2 percent of coniferous forests in the Netherlands are damaged, as are 52.8 percent in the FRG, 49.2 percent in Switzerland, and 36.5 percent in neighboring Austria. We also could talk about dead rivers flowing to the Baltic and North Sea, about ecologic disasters on the Rhine River, and such things as these. [passage omitted]

Joint Production With USSR Called For

AU1808101988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Aug 88 p 1

[Editorial: "From Direct Links to Joint Ventures"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The development of cooperation on the level of enterprises, associations, and organizations which have established direct production and scientific-technical contacts, yields the first results. Precisely these forms of cooperation reveal that it is necessary to further intensify this cooperation and to proceed from direct links to establishing joint ventures.

Thus, for example, cooperation in the production of universal loading machines is developing between Czechoslovakia's Detva heavy engineering works and the Soviet Union's Krasnyy Ekskavator Kiev production association. The following questions have come up during their negotiations: Whom and what purpose does the existing two-way transportation serve, when millions of metric tons of iron ore are transported from the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia, and thousands of metric tons of heavy engineering products are shipped back? Could the Soviet side not process those raw materials on the spot and export a part of the manufactured parts to Czechoslovakia? Could Czechoslovakia not increase the production of some precision and complicated parts for both countries? Would it not be possible to change to joint production?

By the beginning of this year, Czechoslovak enterprises and other organizations concluded more than 300 agreements on direct links, particularly with their partner organizations in the USSR. Their number continues to increase. This, at first glance, is a positive fact; but what is involved in the majority of cases are direct links in the preproduction stages, exchange of findings within the framework of scientific-technical cooperation, or in the postproduction phase, and mutual exchange or support actions in agriculture. Only a few agreements concern the development of intrabranch or intrasectoral cooperation. This cooperation notwithstanding, an increasing number of organizations realize the need for joint production, and currently several proposals for setting up joint ventures and international associations are being negotiated. [passage omitted]

Despite the positive results, not all possibilities are being made use of, especially in the engineering-metallurgy complex. To date, its organizations have established 135 direct links with Soviet economic organizations. They (about 70 percent of them) overwhelmingly concentrate on resolving scientific-technical, development, and design-construction projects, and the remaining ones concentrate on production collaboration, specialization, cooperation, and mutual exchange of goods. This ratio does not correspond to the needs of development.

We have succeeded neither in markedly narrowing down the range of manufactured products nor in achieving the desirable structural changes. The results do not correspond to the urgent needs for raising the technical standards, the quality, and the effectiveness of production. Even in scientific-technical work there has not been the necessary division of labor in research and development; the research and development capacities are not being concentrated on resolving priority problems.

In this respect, we can assess as positive the initiative of Skoda Plzen and the Soviet Uralmash Sverdlovsk production association. [passage omitted]

However, unresolved issues remain, such as: the manner of financially ensuring activity, the setting of prices, ensuring deliveries, and ensuring commercial-technical trade operations. Only when these and other problems are resolved, will the Skoda-Uralmash joint venture be able to prove in practice the justification and effectiveness of the new international organization and to yield economic benefits to the two countries and partners.

With the implementation of new laws comes a new impetus for establishing direct relations and establishing joint ventures, especially in the CSSR, which has laws on state enterprises and on agricultural cooperatives. They enable Czechoslovak organizations to conclude specialization and cooperation agreements with partners abroad. In this connection other regulations, too, are being simplified, and in addition to the traditional foreign trade activity rules for joint ventures are also being worked out. [passage omitted]

Honecker Receives Saarland Prime Minister
LD1808105888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0910 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 18 Aug (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State, this morning received Oskar Lafontaine, prime minister of the Saarland and SPD Deputy chairman, for a talk at the Hubertusstock hunting lodge on the Werbellinsee. The prime minister is in the GDR on a 2-day visit at the invitation of Erich Honecker.

Rights Group Claims Church, FRG Desert It
AU1808104088 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Aug 88 p 4]

[EDP report: "'The GDR Church Is the SED's Ally'; East Berlin Human Rights Initiative Complains About Lacking Support"]

[Text] Berlin—Members of the East Berlin "Peace and Human Rights Initiative" have criticized the conduct of the Evangelical Church in the GDR and of West German politicians after the events on the sidelines of the official Luxemburg/Liebknecht demonstration in January. In an 80-page hectographic document entitled "Footnote," the civil rights initiative calls them "allies" of the GDR leadership against the basis groups. Just as is the SED, the GDR church, FRG Government, and the SPD are interested in maintaining the present conditions, it is stated.

The church's own interest in stable relations with the state has gained the upper hand "of the moral and practical support for the basis groups" after the arrest and expatriation of civil rights fighters and people willing to emigrate. Within the church, there is the pressure of "conservative forces" which regard the influence of the groups as disturbing and "are not capable of solidarity with their substantial objectives."

The publishers of the document explain the severe actions of the state against critics of the regime by pointing out the GDR leadership's fear of an increasingly evident economic and political crisis. The "old recipes" are no longer suited for solving topical difficulties. "Fear and lack of alternatives make people aggressive, and therefore the apparatus, which is only curbed by remainders of political instinct, lashes out as long as it can." Apparent signs of an opening in domestic policy, such as, for example, the official Olof Palme commemoration march last September, in which church groups were also permitted to participate, were "hardly more than tactical maneuvers of a temporary foreign political opportunity" aimed at SED Chairman Honecker's visit to Bonn.

The document also criticizes individual members of the "Peace and Human Rights Initiative" who consented to political cooperation with people willing to emigrate and jointly prepared protest actions on the sidelines of the official Luxemburg/Liebknecht demonstration. There the political dangers of this cooperation and the opportunity offered to the SED propaganda to exploit them were not recognized in time and led to "disaster." The publishers of the document describe the results of the events as a "Pyrrhic victory" for all people involved. The state "drove out a handful of people at the expense of its external and internal prestige." Only some of the "immeasurable multitude" of people willing to emigrate achieved their goal. The church is torn apart in the tension between "the subordination to an authoritarian state and its own equally conservative traditions" on the one hand and the basis groups on the other hand. Finally, the peace, environmental, and human rights groups suffered a political and moral defeat. They emerged from it "disoriented and divided," even though different directions of the pressure groups have now taken shape.

Access to Communist International Archive Granted
LD1708135188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1200 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 17 Aug (ADN)—In response to inquiries from journalistic circles, Prof Dr Guenter Heyden, director of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism at the SED Central Committee, has announced that the SED is one of the parties which have from the beginning requested of the CPSU Central Committee that the archive of the Communist International be made available and accessible to GDR historians. The CPSU Central Committee has agreed to this request. The inspection of the documents by GDR academics is in progress.

Lietz, USSR Agro-Industrial Chairman Confer
LD1708154588 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] The scientific and technological cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union in agriculture and the foodstuffs sector is currently regulated by 41 contracts. Agriculture Minister Bruno Lietz spoke in Berlin today with Nikolay Kulinich, chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, about closer direct relations between agricultural enterprises and academies from the two countries. This involved, among other things, joint projects to develop new vegetable types and the use of automated control systems in modern animal husbandry.

Disarmament Discussed in Bern With Swiss Experts
LD1708153388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0721 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Bern, 17 Aug (ADN)—Talks between disarmament experts from the GDR and Switzerland took place on Tuesday at the Federal Foreign Affairs Department in Bern. During their exchange of views the two sides

stressed the need for increased efforts to reduce strategic nuclear arsenals and bring about conventional disarmament. The partners in the talks advocated an increase in multilateral disarmament efforts. They agreed to work for an accelerated conclusion to the negotiations on a ban on and destruction of chemical weapons. They discussed in detail possible solutions to current questions regarding the creation of an effective, trust-promoting control system, particularly with regard to the nonproduction of chemical weapons. They agreed to cooperate further in this area.

Both sides see an important contribution to the consolidation of European security and cooperation in a rapid start to negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and in the start of the second stage of the conference on confidence and security measures.

People's Navy Unit Visits Sweden

AU1708115888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Aug 88 p 2

[Excerpt] Goeteborg (ADN)—A People's Navy unit arrived in Goeteborg on Monday [15 August] for a 4-day visit to the Kingdom of Sweden, and has anchored at the Stenpieren berth. The coastal patrol boats "Prenzlau" and "Ribnitz-Damgarten" are under Captain Hendrik Born's command. The visit is being paid in return for the visit by three minesweepers of the Royal Swedish Navy and the "FALKEN," a ship with a school on board, to Stralsund and Rostok.

Captain Born paid courtesy visits to acting governing president of the district, Geron Janesson, City President Joerg Linder, and acting chief of the Naval Command West, Captain Lars Norrsell. Immediately after that, the Swedish officials arrived on board the "Prenzlau" for return visits.

During a press conference, Captain Born said that the visit by the GDR ships constitutes a step on the road to understanding and peaceful cooperation in the sense of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe. He said that it helps to strengthen the proven good-neighborly and friendly relations between the GDR and Sweden. [passage omitted]

Ecuador's Borja Receives Manfred Gerlach

AU1608180688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Aug 88 p 1

[Text] Quito (ADN)—Deputy State Council Chairman Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach, head of a GDR delegation that is currently visiting Ecuador, was received for talks in Quito by the new president, Dr Rodrigo Borja Cevallos. He conveyed to the president a personal message from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman. President Borja thanked him cordially and asked him to convey warmest greetings to the GDR chief of state. He stressed his readiness to generally expand and deepen relations between the two countries.

During the talk there was a thorough exchange of opinion on international issues. Manfred Gerlach reported on the GDR's policy on the strengthening of peace, security, and confidence in international relations, and on the continuation of disarmament. Both statesmen stressed that at present favorable tendencies are much in evidence in international developments, that allow countries to deepen the process of detente.

During his stay in Quito, the GDR politician held talks with Foreign Minister Dr Diego Cordovez, and with other ministers, politicians, and public figures on the development of relations between Ecuador and the GDR.

During the ceremonies marking the inauguration of President Dr Borja in Quito, the head of the GDR delegation also met with presidents of Cuba and Nicaragua Fidel Castro and Daniel Ortega, as well as with the chiefs of state of Argentina, Costa Rica, Portugal, Venezuela, and Uruguay.

President of Congo Receives Guenther Maleuda

AU1708111188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Aug 88 p 1

[Text] Brazzaville (ADN)—Deputy State Council Chairman Dr Guenther Maleuda has conveyed the warmest greetings and congratulations of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, to Denis Sassou-Nguesso, Congolese Labor Party [PCT] Central Committee chairman and president of the People's Republic of the Congo. The president asked the head of the GDR delegation, which is visiting Brazzaville to attend the ceremonies on the revolution anniversary, to convey his warmest greetings to Erich Honecker. He recalled his visit to the GDR in May 1985 which gave an important impetus to friendly relations between the two countries. Both politicians paid tribute to the great achievements attained by the Congolese working people under the PCT's leadership.

President Sassou-Nguesso stressed the importance of common efforts for the strengthening of world peace as a prerequisite for the successful development of his country. He stressed that the People's Republic of the Congo has observed with respect the GDR's efforts for the deepening of the international peace process.

Berecz Speaks on Relations With USSR

AU1808085688 Budapest MAGYAR NEMEZET in Hungarian 13 Aug 88 p 3

[Unattributed report on interview with MSZMP Politburo Member and CC Secretary Janos Berecz by Csaba Markus published in the Hungarian-language Soviet daily KARPATI IGAZ SZO: "The Island of Hungarians Should Maintain Its Character"—date and place not given]

[Text] Issue No 163 of the Hungarian-language daily KARPATI IGAZ SZO published in Uzhgorod carries an interview with Janos Berecz. Janos Berecz spoke about strengthening Soviet-Hungarian interparty relations and stressed that "it is a very important requirement that there should be regular exchanges of views between the two parties and a regular flow of intellectual values, because it is very difficult to carry out such a change alone, a change we can call restructuring or change-reform-renewal, as we called the entire series of decisions made at the party conference, or glasnost, or such extensive new requirements...."

Speaking about present and future economic relations, Janos Berecz spoke openly about the fact that "so far, CEMA has been lagging behind the possibilities and requirements that should already be present in the socialist division of labor. Therefore, we are striving bilaterally to implement this socialist division of labor because the coupling and cooperation between the Hungarian and Soviet people's economies are extremely important for us...."

Csaba Markus, the deputy chief editor who interviewed Janos Berecz, then asked him about international political issues.

[Markus] A new approach to finding a solution to the national minority issues has been at the center of attention in both Hungary and the Soviet Union nowadays. How do you evaluate the situation?

[Berecz] In the course of history, a situation has emerged in which various nations and peoples have mingled quite frequently here in the Carpathian Basin and around it. The blending of various nations is so extensive here that it is impossible to draw perfect borders to separate the various ethnic groups. The important thing is that every nation is proud to maintain its character and to rely on its own national culture and develop it. A nation is really mature when it is proud of being able to accept the values of other nations, too, and reach an even higher standard by using these to enrich its own values. But politics has never been mature enough in this area to pacify these nations and peoples. Borders still play a more important role than necessary in this modern age. These borders should primarily be connecting rather than separating lines.

The national issue recently intensified in this area, but one can say that this issue has also emerged in the entire Soviet Union. I tell you this honestly, and I feel a little pity, because I consider the national problem to be secondary to the implementation of the main goals of restructuring. Restructuring, or the results of such a process, will also lead to a solution to the national minority problem. Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev has repeatedly stressed this.

As for Hungarian-Soviet relations, there is a need for mutual patience in this respect, patience on our side to gradually reach a state in which the Hungarians who live in the Soviet Union are able to fully consider themselves Hungarians, and Soviet Hungarians, loyal citizens of the Soviet Union who are proud to be Hungarians.

On our part, there is a need for help, understanding, and care to make sure that the territorial unity and the integrity of the Soviet Union are not impaired.

If we reach this level, the Hungarians of Soviet Transcarpathian Oblast become a link, understanding our language and spirit and, at the same time, able to convey to us everything that enriched them in the Soviet homeland and which they regard as values. These issues are motivated not only by reason, but also by feeling.

[Markus] As MSZMP Central Committee secretary, you have close contacts with the staff of the mass media in Hungary. Imagine a meeting with the staff of KARPATI IGAZ SZO and the Hungarian literary figures active here. What would you tell them? What would you draw their attention to?

[Berecz] I would formulate my thoughts in a few key words. I would first mention something that we sometimes also lack, namely, responsibility. Many people think that courage is the most important thing. I doubt it. In my opinion, responsibility is the most important thing because, in your case, we can talk about several types of responsibility. On the one hand, responsibility for this Hungarian island being able to maintain its national character. But there is another responsibility here, too. The Soviet Union is a united and big country, even if it is made up of many nations. There is responsibility which says that one should strengthen and maintain one's own character in such a way as to adjust it to the great whole, and even enrich this great whole. One should also expect that our culture will contribute to the enrichment of the Soviet peoples' culture. We must search for channels to reach Moscow and Siberia.

The third responsibility is that the Hungarians here should accept this for themselves and for their families, in order to find their place and adjust within this society, and, at the same time, preserve their own national character.

And then we need courage, too, because, within responsibility, courage means that I will take a stand even if I see that the conditions are not yet completely ripe, but I want to contribute to making them ripe. I will take a stand even if there is a debate, but in this debate, and this is the third thing I want to say, there is a need for tolerance, understanding toward the opinions of others. One thing is certain: We, the Hungarian People's Republic and the MSZMP, are now able to deal more with the Hungarians who live in the Soviet Union, we can pay more attention to this issue, and this issue is discussed in Moscow at meetings between our leaders. What is needed here is that there should be no doubt that the Hungarians in the Soviet Union want to live like Hungarians by contributing to the strength of the Soviet Union as a whole. Besides, this is also in our own interest, because the more democratic our friend the Soviet Union is, and the more it is able to develop, the more this will affect us, and we will also be able to implement our goals quicker.

Letter to Grosz Asks Unity With Transylvanians

AU1708135388 [Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 16 August carries on page 2 an 1,100-word text of an "open letter to Karoly Grosz" signed by Laszlo Bihari, a resident of the town Szeged, who, together with his family, came to Hungary from Bucharest in 1971. In Romania, Bihari was chief editor of the Hungarian language magazine IFJUMUNKAS, and, later, director of the Litera publishing house and member of the Council for Culture and Arts and chief advisor at its department in charge of nationality issues.

At the beginning of his letter, Bihari reminds Grosz of a talk they had after his arrival in Hungary, when he informed Grosz that while living in Romania, the day following his refusal to write an article in the Romanian party daily SCINTEIA "about the fact that, through the party secretary general's initiative, the nationality problem had been solved in Romania" he lost his job, his children were expelled from school, and his wife was given an unskilled worker's job.

Now, through this "open letter," Bihari tries to make clear the causes that led to the current situation in Romania. He expresses the view that "during the many years that passed after the Trianon treaty, every Romanian Government viewed Hungary as its major enemy" fearing the threat of revision "which eventually took place after the Vienna diktat," when, for a few years, Transylvania was again attached to Hungary. Bihari enumerates the actions taken in the past years against Hungarians in Transylvania, such as: "the Cluj Bolyai University has been shut down, several Hungarian language high schools and elementary schools closed," and "state administration employees were advised to Romanize their names" while "the homes of Hungarians holding managerial positions have been bugged." In order to accomplish the assimilation of Hungarians, Hungarian graduates of medical school have not been allowed to take a job in Transylvania, only in Romania proper, while Moldavian graduates "who did not speak Hungarian were given jobs in Szekler villages." Thus "today we have reached the last stage of a devilish plot: to put a 'fait accompli' in front of the world with the help of bulldozers." Bihari blames Hungary for giving the impression "that everything was in complete order in the neighboring socialist country."

Bihari refers in favorable words to the Romanian people but condemns the Romanian Government for pursuing a nationalist policy in order to "take the Romanian people's attention off their economic, political, social, and cultural failure." The author of the letter asks Grosz to "try to reach an understanding with the Romanian Government" and discuss the issue with the other Warsaw Pact member countries since "they cannot be impassive to the fact that the world has declared one of their fellow member countries a police state."

Bihari concludes his letter with the call: "on 1 September 1988, let us organize the day of world solidarity with our Transylvanian brothers. Let us hail the Romanian-Hungarian friendship and protest against the village-destroying actions and against the assimilation policy of the Romanian authorities!" He then asks Grosz to facilitate the spreading of this call among "the 15 million Hungarians and their friends living throughout the world."

Japanese Parliament Official Visits 14-16 Aug

LD1608193988 Budapest MTI in English 1655 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 16 (MTI)—At the invitation of Gyula Horn, state secretary for foreign affairs, Hamada Takujiro, Japanese parliamentary state secretary for foreign affairs made an official visit to Hungary on 14-16. He met Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Political Committee and minister of state, Matyas Szuros, HSWP CC secretary and chairman of the Parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission, Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister and Laszlo Bekesi, deputy minister of foreign affairs. The Japanese politician was acquainted with the internal situation in Hungary and economic and political reform efforts.

At the official meetings, Gyula Horn and Hamada Takujiro reviewed international issues of mutual interest, and bilateral relations and the opportunities for their development. It was concluded that Hungarian-Japanese relations, especially the commercial and financial fields, has developed well in recent years. At the same time further efforts are needed to make a better use of the existing opportunities.

Army Official Speaks on Conscientious Objectors

LD1708172888 Budapest MTI in English 1630 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 17 (MTI)—Lieutenant-General Istvan Kovacs, the political chief-group head of the Hungarian People's Army held a press conference on the

drafting and discharging of national servicemen. He said that recently the alternative military service is widely discussed. In this context he called the attention of the recently conscripted to the fact that the present national defence law and the regulations on its implementation are in force. It would be a grave error if due to misunderstanding and lack of information young people refused the obligations stipulated in the law. For such an act they will have to face the consequences.

For those who refuse take up arms because of religious convictions, there has been an opportunity since 1976 for unarmed military service. At present the administration is searching for compromise. By amending regulations attempts will be made to consider reasons of conscience. At the same time it also should not be disregarded that the tasks of national defence require a certain number of people. It is difficult to judge how and why and when a person refuses armed service due to reasons of conscience. Sound judgement will be needed to see if the reasons are real or only an excuse to evade armed service.

Survey of 'General Economic Mood' Published

AU1708112688 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Aug 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Public Economic Mood in June 1988"]

[Text] Hereby we publish the latest survey of the Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute based on a representative poll of 1,000 people. The report analyzes the general mood of the population and the people's opinion about their country's and their own personal current and prospective economic situation. In reading the numerical statistics in this report, one should take into consideration that the evaluation ranges from minus 100 points to plus 100 points.

According to the public opinion survey carried out in June 1988, the general economic mood of the population stabilized in the first half of the current year. The evaluation of the country's economic situation improved to a level of minus 29.1 points in March 1988, and to a similar level of minus 27.5 points in June, compared to the lowest level of minus 39.8 points measured in September 1987, and to a similarly low level of minus 38.0 points measured in November 1987. In spite of the improvement, the evaluation of the country's economic situation is less favorable than it was a year ago. Because the level of minus 23.0 points measured last year was already considered a "spectacular deterioration," in long-term comparison, the current stabilization is also at an unfavorable level.

Although the evaluation of the personal financial situation has stabilized, this evaluation is at the most unfavorable level experienced so far. The minus 70.7 points measured in November 1987 was a slight improvement compared to the minus 74.7 points measured in September 1987, but it was followed by the worst evaluation so far: minus 77.7 points in March 1988, and minus 75.6 points in June.

The gap between the evaluation of the national situation and of the personal situation again increased this year. It is to be noted here that this gap gradually decreased in 1987. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the propaganda about the results of the first quarter of this year and the new tax system introduced at the beginning of the year probably make the people feel that the country's situation has improved as a result of the perceptible deterioration in their personal situation.

Among the components of the country's economic situation, optimism is present only in the evaluation of short-term economic development prospects: Some 33 percent of the people count on an acceleration of the country's economic development in the next 1 or 2 years, while 23 percent of the people count on a slowdown. (According to the results of a previous survey, these rates were 29 percent and 26 percent respectively.) As for the country's economic difficulties, 65 percent of the people surveyed regarded these difficulties as considerable, and 52 percent regarded them as lasting difficulties.

In accordance with the general trend, there has hardly been any change compared to the results of the previous survey, but there has been a considerable improvement compared to the results of November 1987, when 70 percent of the people surveyed regarded the economic difficulties as considerable, and 58 percent regarded them as lasting difficulties. A similar trend can be discerned in the expectations concerning the people's standard of living, but the proportion of optimistic opinions is very small here: 10 percent of the people surveyed think that the standard of living will increase in the next 1 or 2 years, and 61 percent of the people think that it will deteriorate. The proportion of optimistic opinions remained unchanged in the last three surveys—in September 1987, March 1988, and June 1988—but the proportion of pessimistic opinions concerning the standard of living decreased to 62 percent from the previous 73 percent, and to 61 percent in the latest survey.

Traditionally, the most informed strata of the population have the worst opinion about the country's economic situation: intellectuals and people in leading positions (minus 49.0 points); university graduates (minus 46 points); and party members (minus 37 points.) Their unfavorable opinions improved considerably compared to the previous survey (minus 61 points in the case of intellectuals and people in leading positions, and minus 58 points for university graduates in March 1988.) A worse than average evaluation of the country's situation comes from skilled workers (minus 38 points), high school graduates (minus 40 points), Budapest inhabitants (minus 36 points), and people with the highest income (minus 40 points). Most optimistic evaluations

come from unskilled manual workers (minus 13 points), pensioners (minus 17 points), people with less than 8 years of general schooling (minus 11 points), people over 60 (minus 19 points), and people living in villages (minus 20 points.) The evaluations made by other strata of the population did not deviate much from the average.

Indicators of the personal financial situation continue to be kept from falling to a minimum value by the fact that some people regard the difficulties in purchasing and supply as unchanged, and "only" 61 percent of the people think that these difficulties have increased this year.

There is almost unanimous agreement (95 percent) that real wages are decreasing. Some 33 percent of the people surveyed think that this decrease is drastic. Some 58 percent think that the increase in wages slightly compensates for the increase in the prices, and 10 percent think that they do not compensate for the price increases at all. These data are exactly the same as in March 1988.

There has been almost no change at all in the proportion of people who think that, this year, they can purchase less from their income than last year (89 percent in March, and 87 percent in June). There has been an increase in the proportion of people who evaluated the value of their income as having decreased, that is, people who "are able to purchase perceptibly less" (45 percent compared to the earlier 40 percent); but the percentage of people who think "they are able to purchase considerably less" decreased from 30 to 24 percent. The differences between various strata of the society in evaluating their financial situation—differences that emerged by 1987—faded away.

18 Percent Growth in Exports Jan-Jun 1988

LD1608164988 Budapest MTI in English 1350 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 16 (MTI)—In the first half of 1988 the balance sheets of the Hungarian economic organizations showed a 18 per cent increase in hard-currency exports as compared to the similar period of last year, Dezso Suto, president of the Inland Revenue Office (APEH), told a press conference on Tuesday. The rumours that the new economic regulation would reduce enterprise profits by 60 per cent proved to be incorrect. On the national average, calculated without the agricultural units, the profits of economic organizations dropped by 12.7 per cent. The profits of the productive units decreased by 30 to 35 per cent while the banks netted considerably higher profits than last year. The cost-sensitivity of economic organizations has not improved. Although the central subsidies decreased, they are still too high [word indistinct] become obvious by now that these revenues will only amount to 50-51,000 million forints.

Briefs

New Financial Periodicals

BUDAPESTI TOEZSDE HIREK [BUDAPEST STOCK EXCHANGE NEWS], edited by Dezsoe Futas, will be a monthly available to a limited number of subscribers. It will carry a monthly summary of development in the securities trade in Budapest, and elsewhere. A supplement, ARFOLYAMLAP [CURRENT PRICE LIST] edited by Laszlo Egyed, will deal with the official prices of bonds primarily; in the future it will include more share prices. ARFOLYAMLAP will be full of numbers and will be posted in the National Savings Bank. It will be used to decide prices for the sale and purchase of bonds. [Summary] [*LD1008000288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 8 Aug 88*]

Islamic Denomination Recognized

Under the law on the free exercise of religion, the president of the Hungarian State Office for Church Affairs has declared the Hungarian Islamic community a legally recognized denomination with effect from August 15, 1988. The organizational rules presented by the community declared that the Islamic denomination would operate in compliance with the Constitution and the statutory provisions of Hungary. [Text] [*LD1608010788 Budapest MTI in English 1608 GMT 15 Aug 88*]

Further on Continuing Work Stoppages 17 Aug

Second Miners Strike Begins

AU1708150288 Paris AFP in English 1437 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Aug 17 (AFP)—Miners in Kaczyce, southern Poland, stopped work Wednesday in support of 4,000 colleagues striking since Monday at the nearby Jastrzebie pit, an informed source said.

Meanwhile a management spokesman at Jastrzebie said talks with the strikers there had got off to a bad start.

About 500 miners of the morning shift at Kaczyce's Morcinek colliery responded to a strike call by the banned trade union Solidarity, an informed source said.

It was not known if the afternoon shift had also joined the stoppage.

The miners said they supported claims made by the Jastrzebie miners, 30 kilometers (20 miles) away, who downed tools Monday calling for higher salaries and official recognition of Solidarity, the source added. [passage omitted]

Miners Making 'Radical Demands'

LD1708155688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Despite the prosecutor's warnings, the illegal strike at the "July Manifesto" colliery in Jastrzebie Zdroj continues. The majority of the strikers are young people.

The strikers are making radical demands. Among other things they are demanding pay rises of about Z100,000. Demands have also been put forward for cutting to 20 years the period of work underground necessary to entitle one to a pension. This would mean creating a group of pensioners under 40 years old. The plant's trade union organization, the Rybnik-Jastrzebie miners' guild, and representatives of the Presidium of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions have appealed to the strikers, informing them of the numerous social and welfare matters which have been under negotiation recently and which are being settled. The trade unionists ask the strikes if the strike is in support of their activities for the benefit of miners or an organized attempt to torpedo them.

Strikes Extend North to Szczecin

AU1708180288 Paris AFP in English 1746 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Aug 17 (AFP)—Strikes at southern Polish industrial centres extended to the north Wednesday [17 Aug] when several hundred dockers downed tools at Szczecin demanding pay hikes and the legalization of the banned trade union Solidarity, informed sources said.

Five hundred miners at Kaczyce, southern Poland, stopped work in support of 4,000 colleagues striking since Monday at the nearby Jastrzebie pit. Meanwhile, a management spokesman at Jastrzebie said talks with the strikers there had got off to a bad start. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile at the northwestern port city of Szczecin, several hundred dockers started a strike for higher wages, Solidarity's legalization and the re-hiring of all dockers fired since martial law was declared in 1981.

Martial law was lifted in 1983.

A high-ranking member of Solidarity's national management, Andrzej Milczanowski, is sitting on the dockers' 16-member strike committee which was set up immediately after the beginning of the walkout.

A Szczecin public prosecutor in the port area said the strike was illegal. A call by the port authority to resume the work went so far unheeded.

A total of 2,000 dockers are employed at the Szczecin port.

Solidarity for Szczecin Strike

AU1708195288 Paris AFP in English 1947 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 17 (AFP)—Leaders of the banned trade union Solidarity called Wednesday [17 Aug] on all workers in and around the city of Szczecin to down tools in support of striking miners and dockers, a senior Solidarity member said here.

Solidarity leader Marian Jurczyk told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone the government's economic policy had "brought ruin on the country."

"Poles' living conditions keep worsening," he said.

Dockers in the northwest port of Szczecin and miners in the southern pits of Jastrzebie and Kaczyce have demanded Solidarity's legalization and substantial pay hikes.

Mr. Jurczyk said Solidarity had called for political pluralism to be added to the demands.

Strikers Issue 'Postulates'

LD1808012788 Warsaw PAP in English 0101 GMT 18 Aug 88

[From the "Press Review"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, August 18—[Passage omitted] In a report from the Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] colliery in Jastrzebie Zdroj where miners are on strike TRYBUNA LUDU special correspondent writes in part: "A list of 23 postulates officially reaches the colliery

managers (Wednesday morning). Item 1 reads: Change of the law which blocks the creation of competitive trade unions in enterprises. This means continuation of purely political demands.

"Item 2 speaks of re-employment for all persons fired for activities aimed at the weal of work mates and the weal of the country. Order can hardly be found in this wording. Alongside conclusions of nationwide character are smaller, mine-scale ones. Economic alongside social. Alongside social—those referring to wages are strongly emphasized.

"But still, common language seems possible in (preliminary talks between representatives of the management and the trade union), where the postulates concern the miners' ordinary day, working conditions, and life. Yes is said to demands of change in material economy, greater benefits for recovery of waste materials, higher pay for Monday-Friday work.

"The exchange of arguments and reasons consumes almost two hours. A possibility to solve the conflict shows up. But a request made in the end must be worrying. Seemingly a modest one: to allow advisors into the mine.

"Time passes and, as usually in such scenarios, emotions go up. Their effect is quick. A statement of the strike committee with pre-conditions. There will be further talks if all the listed postulates are considered. And there were about two hundred of them. And more clearly...no talks will be held until you allow our experts in the mine, until persons we are to talk with get adequate powers from the government. It was stressed that the postulates will be agreed one-by-one in the talks. Only after the first one is settled, the next one can be considered...again a firm comeback to politics.

"When I am dispatching this report at 17.00 hrs (August 17), the strikers agreed to negotiate," the correspondent said.

Warsaw TV Shows Striking Miners

LD1708201788 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] [Announcer] The strike at the "July Manifesto" colliery, branded illegal by the prosecutor, is continuing.

[Begin recording] [Video shows a closed gate, then a group of people is approached by the cameramen, the camera's way is blocked by a woman]

[Unidentified correspondent] How can we leave it? What is the point? Everybody in Poland is interested in knowing what is going on in your mind. What can we tell them today at 1930 [time of main TV news cast]?

[Unidentified worker] The radio said yesterday that this is a political strike.

[Correspondent] What kind of strike is it?

[Second unidentified worker] It is not political.

[Correspondent] What kind of strike is it then? [video shows a banner with "Sit-in Strike" written on it, then a Polish flag with the word "strike" on it, followed by a shot of a banner with "No freedom without Solidarity" written on it; this is followed by a video of a group of people sunbathing and an aerial shot of the mine]

During the night 16-17 August the strikers modified their demands, formulating political demands—that is demanding the reactivation of Solidarity—and economic demands. The strikers are becoming more and more radical. Young people from a large proportion of the strikers.

Regarding economic issues, the strikers demand, inter alia, that miners' wages are increased to over twice the national average wage that is by about Z100,000. Demands are also being made for the daily and weekly wages to be increased, so that the weekly wage would be double the national average.

Regarding the so-called economic sphere, the strikers made a demand to decrease the retirement age of manual workers by 5 years. Let us recall that currently approved principles for retirement in mining provide for the rule applied since 1982, stating for instance, that a miner working underground at the pit head has the right to retire after 25 years of work. At present, for instance, men aged 43 have the right to retire and do avail themselves of this right. Adopting the demand of the "July Manifesto" strikers would, therefore, mean that men aged 38 could retire. Anyway, such regulations can only be changed by the Sejm and the mine's director has no right to make such decisions.

Observers of the Jastrzebie-Zdroj strike have serious doubts as to whether society is ready to accept proposals of this kind. Also dubious is the demand for the so-called 14th wage [bonus payment equal to 1 month's salary] to be received not just by workers underground but also by surface workers, which would lead to the situation in which this special 14th underground payment would be paid to receptionists, cleaners, cooks, and administrative workers in general. Serious doubts are raised by the demand to pay the same coal allocation payment to all working miners, that is eight tonnes which would also include those living in workers' hostels. [sentence as heard]

Another demand, which is totally unrealistic and incomprehensible, is the demand to unify prices throughout Poland for the same goods. According to this, the first thing to be done by the government would be to stop the economic reform and return to the system of directives from above. Another demand requests publication of information about the strike. This demand requires no comment. [end recording]

Miners Union Official Comments

LD1708193788 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Interview with Stefan Piwonski, deputy chairman of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions, by correspondent Wojciech Wypusz; time and place not given—recorded]

[Text][Wypusz] What is the federation's position on the strike at the "July Manifesto" colliery?

[Piwonski] The position of the Federation of Miners Trade Unions on this strike as revealed yesterday, with the participation of representatives of the plant trade union organizations of the Rybnik-Jastrzebie mining community. In it we state that in a situation where the federation is consistently implementing the demands of the mining work forces, aimed at unfreezing the miner's charter, which has not been changed since 1985, we regard the approach of some professional groups at that colliery, who have embarked on a strike for a strike's sake, to be harmful, harmful to the mining workforces, harmful to our consistent activities. We think that this stance on the strike issue was certainly not agreed on with the whole work force. This is proved by the nonunanimous participation of the employees of this colliery; by the fact that in the plants of the Rybnik-Jastrzebie mining community and in the other collieries, work went on as normal yesterday. Everybody believes that the Federation, presenting the issues recently before the TV cameras as well, will carry our demands into effect and as of 1 August [as heard] we will return to paying out [wyplacanie] the miner's charter.

[Wypusz] One September.

[Piwonski] On 1 September, the decree is to be issued effective 1 August.

[Wypusz] Backdated?

[Piwonski] Yes, indeed, because the factory remuneration systems act came into force as of 1 July and we, as miners, waiting for the decree, are inclined to wait through the month of July, which is already over, it's true. We have guarantees from the minister of industry, but we are afraid that putting the new demands today, which have been laid out there—I would say that the demand for the miner's charter was not brought into prominence there at all—can take the (?whole) discussion onto a completely different track, the track of setting the work forces at odds, of winning the argument for oneself and not achieving the just demands of the mining work forces.

Politburo Rejects 'Blackmail'

LD1708204888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] The voice of the workforce should become a starting point for resolving arguments and difficult problems in a rational way, taking into consideration the reasons of the state, the economy, and the capabilities of enterprises, stated the Politburo at its session yesterday.

We must not allow wages to be increased (?without relating them) to productivity. Blackmail by means of strikes, accompanied by calls to reproduce the situation of the years of total disorganization of life in Poland, stated the Politburo, can only deepen the economic difficulties, slow down the process of reform, and [words indistinct]. Apart from that, these highly regrettable incidents which disrupt production prolong the period before we can return to normal economic relations with other countries. Defending the basic interests of society is the fundamental duty of the party and the authorities, the socialist state. (?There can be) no return to the anarchy [word indistinct], stated the Politburo at its session yesterday.

Western Coverage Criticized

LD1708173388 Warsaw PAP in English 1650 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—As it could have been predicted, the illegal strike at the Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] colliery in Jastrzebie-Zdroj has received lots of coverage from numerous correspondents of Western news agencies.

REUTER and other Western agencies have been making sure for nearly 48 hours that the topic does not drop out of news circulation. They clearly hope that appeals for support of the strike from other factories which are either reported by the said news agencies or broadcast to Poland by Western radio stations finally yield some result.

A characteristic feature of this strike is the amazing lack of official objectives for the sake of which that illegal action would be undertaken, a consequence of which has been closure of the colliery. True, Western agencies report sets of demands allegedly put forward by the strikers, but they differ in contents and volume. As a rule, the political postulate comes to the forefront of these.

A strange angle to this strike is the fact, however, that strike organizers have not approached the mine director with any list of their demands. This allows a wide margin and lots of room for manipulation with reports about the strike.

Such uncanny situation simply must give grounds to various speculations. It is a common knowledge, for example, that certain West European states have considerably tightened their criteria for asylum-granting procedure recently. And thus, a question may arise whether one of the organizers of this muddy strike is not, incidentally, thinking about preparing for himself strong arguments that would ensure him a right to stay in a Western country. Even with all those stricter terms of obtaining a resident visa.

Further Reportage on Regional Strikes 18 Aug

Workers Present Demands

LD1808082988 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Yesterday, [17 Aug] at the first shift, a group of employees of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port complex failed to start work. Several dozen, mainly young, employees called for a strike. However, their calls were not met by the approval of the work force. Those who did not work disrupted the port operations, in particular at docks transloading general cargo. This was because there were many machinery operators among the people attempting to organize the strike.

At about 2200 yesterday the strike organizers at the port conveyed their demands to the management. The demands are political and economic in nature.

Also today the buses are not running in Szczecin. Right now talks are in progress in one of the depots.

Miners, Drivers Strikes Continue

LD1808091088 Hamburg DPA in German 0656 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—In Szczecin today some 600 drivers from the local transport services have gone on strike. Dissident circles in Warsaw reported that the drivers have joined the dock workers' demands for 50-percent wage increases and the reauthorization of the banned trade union Solidarity. A spokesman for the official trade unions confirmed the strike. According to reports from Solidarity circles, the strike in the harbor has spread today. It has been joined by the workers at the dock for bulk goods. No negotiations are being conducted.

The miners' strike at the "July Manifesto" pit in Jastrzebie continued today despite negotiations between management and strikers' representatives which lasted into the night. On Wednesday several hundred workers at the "Morcinek" pit in Kaczyce, which is being devleoped, joined the strike. According to unconfirmed reports, workers at a mine in Piekary Slaskie have also stopped working. [passage omitted]

Further on Katowice Mine Strike

LD1808121588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Stanislaw Soltysik dispatch from Katowice]

[Text] TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA publishes on its front page a report by its correspondent from Jastrzebie. Over the gate to the "July Manifesto" mine there hangs a white banner with an inscription, sit in strike. The entrance is guarded, apart from the usual industrial security guards, by stewards delegated by the strike committee—young people wearing red arm bands on their shirt sleeves. Passes issued by the mine's administration, the TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA correspondent writes, are only valid for entry to the administration building. The stewards are disregarding such passes. From behind the fence and from windows miners can be seen sitting in the yard.

The correspondent cites the view of Dr. Antoni Pilny, the press spokesman of the Rybnik and Jastrzebie Mining Guild, who talks in detail about the morning talks held yesterday between the strike committee and the negotiating delegation. The mine delegation included Karol Grzywa, the mine director: his deputy Boleslaw Kiermaszek; and Tadeusz Motowiolo, chairman of the Independent Trade Union of the "July Manifesto" Workers. This group was accepted by the strike committee without question. Unfortunately, in the article entitled "Idle Hours", the correspondent notes that the talks achieved nothing. The strikers demanded that their experts to be let into the mine and that the negotiators be authorized by the government. Procedural demands were also made, such as every demand be agreed on first before moving on to the next one.

The situation livened up yesterday at 1800 [1600 GMT] when director Grzywa proposed to the miners that they begin talks to resolve the issues in accordance with his powers and to establish the way in which issues of wider implication will be dealt with. The director proposed that the strike end at the time which would allow for work to start today, 18 August, by the first shift. Talks started after a few minutes. They are open, because the negotiations are being broadcast by the mine's loudspeaker system. The talks with the strike committee lasted until 1920 yesterday. Nine demands were agreed upon. The talks were to continue from 2000, but in the meantime a delegation from the Morcinek mine arrived and proposed that the strikers create an interfactory strike committee (MZKS). In this situation, further talks collapsed, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA said.

Just before 1100 hrs I spoke on the phone with Antoni Pilny, press spokesman of the Jastrzebie and Rybnik Mining Guild. He said so far the talks have not been resumed, and the strike in the "July Manifesto" mine is continuing.

Political Bureau Holds Meeting, Views Issues

LD1808083188 Warsaw PAP in English 0034 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—"Defence of basic interests of society is the most important obligation of the party and the authorities of the socialist state. There can be no return to anarchy, past structures," the PUWP CC Political Bureau said at its meeting here yesterday.

The Political Bureau continued evaluation of realization by voivodship party organizations of a resolution of the 7th CC plenary session. Discussed was the work of the Lublin, Poznan, and Radom party organizations. The debates were attended by first secretaries of respective voivodship committees as well as some CC members who represented those organizations

Market balance disturbances strongly influence the state of public feelings, it was said. Critically assessed are commodity supplies, the functioning of trade, everyday services. Some enterprises struggle against shortages of primary materials, which causes bitterness of crews losing possibilities of achieving higher pay.

It is the party's obligation to conduct constant dialogue with crews, intently listen to their opinions, eliminate irritations and misunderstandings the sources of which are sometimes even trifle irregularities and shortcomings that can be immediately eliminated, it was said. It is also necessary to once more review problems presented by crews, precisely and extensively explain the adopted procedure of their settlement.

It happens that the egoistically understood collective interest is put in the first place with a harm for society's weal. The voice of crews should become a starting-point for reasonable settlement of disputes and difficult issues, taking into account state and economic reasons as well as possibilities of enterprises. You cannot lead to raising pays, unjustified with higher production and labour productivity.

Blackmailing by strikes, accompanied by calls to recreate the situation from the years of the total disorganization of the life in the country, can only deepen economic difficulties, hamper the processes of reforms and national agreement. Moreover, regrettable and production-disturbing incidents prolongue a period of restoring normal economic relations with foreign countries.

The party should react at every level with particular sensitivity to inconveniences in the life of citizens, to shortcomings—which are blatant sometimes—in the work of some offices of public services, trade and everyday services and other public utilities.

The Political Bureau urged to personally, publicly reveal those guilty of neglect and to inform on sanctions for errors, ineffective decisions, negligence in trade, in broadly understood centres rendering services to citizens.

In the light of the economic performance over the first six months of the year, examined are the directions of indispensable modifications in the ways of implementing the second stage of economic reform, particularly in its price-income aspect. During its nearest 8th plenum, the Central Committee will analyse the standard of living of working people.

The Political Bureau, on its part, will devote one of its upcoming meetings to the problems of ecology and the improvement of the natural environment.

It was said that in the inspected voivodships, the number of party members and the political activeness of Basic Party Cells (POP) were growing. The number of workers and peasants among those newly admitted as party members went up. In Poznan, most party organizations admitted candidate-members. In their number predominate workers under 30 years of age. Quite high is the rate of professionally active workers who are party members. In the Radom Voivodship members of youth organizations account for nearly half of the candidate-members admitted to PUWP.

The Bureau criticised varying activeness of the Basic Party Cells. In Lublin and Radom Voivodship organizations last year, slightly over half of basic cells failed to admit a single candidate.

The Political Bureau got acquainted with a report on the summer holidays of working people, youth and children. It has been estimated that in the first part of this year's summer season, the tourist and recreation figures maintained their last year's level. Till the end of July, almost 1.7 million people took part in organized forms of holidays. More than 1.5 million people went on tourist trips in Poland and some 400,000 travelled abroad.

Over the same period, some 1.9 million youth and children, i.e. 60 per cent of the planned number, took part in various forms of organized vacations.

The meeting heard an information of the final stage of preparations of Polish sportsmen to the Olympic Games in Seoul.

The Political Bureau familiarized itself with another report on the hitherto advancement of crops. In most voivodships harvests are nearing an end. By mid-August, farmers harvested 85 per cent of cereals and the procurement of rape was ended. In most cases the procurement of grain, which is dry and of high quality, progresses smoothly.

Crops in individual kinds of cereals obtained this year, which in many voivodships have been on last year's level or even higher, prove that it is necessary to more firmly increase the area of cultivation of high-yield and winter varieties, the Political Bureau said.

1920 Polish-Soviet War Examined

AU1708171188 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12-14 Aug 88 p 4

[Interview with Prof Ludwik Hass by Piotr Gadzinowski: "War and Revolution"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Gadzinowski] In the summer of 1920 the Red Army was approaching Warsaw. How did the Bolsheviks—many Poles were included in their ranks—expect to be received by the population? What was the mood of the people like at that time?

[Hass] Many activists, primarily members of the Left Polish Socialist Party believed that the appearance of the Red Army on ethnic Polish soil would spark mass revolutionary action. This was the tone of the argument the Jozef Unszlicht put forward in the reply that he dispatched to a telegram from Lenin.

However, a significant part of the civilian population viewed the war with indifference. Reports produced by the Polish General Staff speak of a low percentage of draftees presenting themselves to military commissions, the population being weary of war, and that the peasants linked hopes of land reform to the advance of the Soviet Army.

Confirmation of the absence of patriotic feeling is provided by an interesting source, the reports produced by the well-known Italian writer and journalist Curzio Malaparte, who noticed indifference on the part of the military, as well as the civilian population. Observing the troops guarding the main post office, he said that any potential conspirators would encounter no difficulty seizing it.

[Gadzinowski] Were there any conspirators in Warsaw?

[Hass] A revolutionary committee was established under the direction of the Communist Workers' Party of Poland, and it was to take control of the city, starting with the center. At the last minute, it received a directive from Soviet headquarters stating that the plan should be abandoned. Unfortunately, that is all the information we have. We know this from the memoirs of Herz Mendl (Sztokfisch), which appeared in a German translation in 1979.

[Gadzinowski] However, according to the account given by Witold Gielzynski in his book "Building Independence" [Budowanie Niepodleglej], a strong feeling of patriotism engulfed the intelligentsia, young people, and tradesmen. The war is said to have consolidated society and, at the same time, caused opinion to shift to the right.

[Hass] These are to some extent myths. This is the impression given in the memoirs of those who volunteered to join the army, but it was not the case on a mass scale. Gielzynski himself provides much evidence of indifference or a readiness to cooperate with the Red Army on the part of the population. The reports produced by the General Staff are interesting in that they also cover areas in the northern part of Mazowsze, where strong pro-clerical and National Democrat feeling was reflected in the 1919 election results.

A comparison of the election results for 1919 and 1922 does not confirm the thesis that society became more cohesive or shifted to the right following the 1920 war. On the contrary, it even refutes it. The Polish Socialist Party obtained better results in the 1922 elections in this area, and the Communist Workers' Party of Poland, which fielded candidates for the first time, having boycotted the 1919 elections, obtained quite respectable results in proletarian strongholds in Zaglebie Dabrowskie, Lodz, and Warsaw.

[Gadzinowski] Were there Polish communist activists who were opposed to an advance on Warsaw?

[Hass] A group of activists belonging to the Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania voiced opposition back in February 1920, and on 22 July 1920, DIE ROTE FAHNE, the central organ of the Communist Party of Germany, carried an article by Henryk Stein-Kamienski (Domski) called "Soviet Russia and Peace," in which the author states that in a country that has been under Russian domination for several centuries, a Polish-Soviet revolutionary war ceases to be something unambiguous and that a permanent dictatorship of the proletariat can only come about in Poland if it is the product of domestic forces. "Only the popular masses that have themselves carried out a revolution, like the Russian masses, will willingly endure and suffer the struggles and sacrifices connected with radical social change. However, Soviet power introduced from outside by foreign troops would meet with much stronger resistance from the ruling classes and weaker support from the working masses. The Entente would thus be able to continually incite counterrevolution in Poland and prevent a Polish Soviet government from engaging in any kind of constructive work. The end effect would be that Soviet power would be discredited in the eyes of the Western proletariat."

W. Solski's memoirs (Panski), which were published in Paris, confirm the existence of a group that was opposed to an advance on Warsaw.

He describes a number of events that shed light on opinion within the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. Solski saw Trotskiy speak during a visit to Minsk. The latter had come to Minsk to deliver a report on the war to the aktiv. The author noticed that during the debate that followed, Trotskiy, who was renowned for his eloquence, spoke badly, what he said lacked conviction. It was only later that Solski learned that the position that Trotskiy had communicated did not reflect his own views, but was the policy line adopted by the Politburo. Trotskiy himself had believed for some time that the continuation of the war made no sense.

This is confirmed by what Trotskiy writes in "My Life."

[Gadzinowski] This is at variance with the stereotyped account. It is usually believed that the Politburo recommended restraint, whereas Trotskiy pushed for "permanent revolution" and war.

[Hass] An example of this type of thinking—it has now become something of a curiosity—is provided by the two articles written by Ryszard Majewski that appeared in SPRAWY I LUDZI in October 1987, according to which there might never have been a Polish-Soviet war were it nor for Trotskiy and Pilsudski. This naive type of thinking does not take account of the facts: the international situation, the policy of the Entente, and class conflicts, which were the cause of the war, along with the dispute concerning borders. We tend to forget that in Galicia, especially in the area around Lwow, fighting between Poles and Ukrainians, which had started in November 1918, was still going on. In these border areas, where there was a patchwork of different ethnic groups, and social and nationality issues were interconnected, the question of statehood still remained open. No sensible person would try to prove that the Belorussians or the Ukrainians wanted to belong to Poland. Ataman Petlura concluded an alliance with Poland once he no longer held any territory and when he wanted Polish military assistance to return to the Ukraine. Then, there were cases of divisions from the West Ukraine going over to the Bolshevik side during the course of the war.

[Gadzinowski] I have also heard that the Polish-Russian war was a panacea for internal Soviet troubles.

[Hass] Here as well it is difficult to see any rational reasons behind such views. The war did not put an end to the civil war which had been going on for 3 years. Yes, a large group of high-ranking Tsarist Army officers did join the Red Army...

[Gadzinowski] Sholokhov's "Quiet Flows the Don" gives examples of a mass recruitment of Cossacks who had fought against Bolshevism earlier.

[Hass] Other sources somehow make no mention of this. However, it is a fact that the civil war continued, and that Wrangel was active in the Crimea as late as autumn 1920. Many other facts deny that the Polish-Soviet war was a panacea for internal Soviet troubles.

[Gadzinowski] But the Polish-Soviet war also furnished hopes of a revolution in other European countries, hopes which the war itself destroyed.

[Hass] The revolution was prevented by the outcome of the battle of Warsaw. There is no doubt about that. The situation in Europe would have been different if the Red Army had stood at the Polish-German frontier. In the impoverished Germany of the time, a Germany experiencing the effects of defeat and burdened by the conditions imposed by the Versailles Treaty, pro-revolutionary sentiments were strong.

[Gadzinowski] Would the Entente have let a revolution take place in Germany?

[Hass] A revolution in Germany would not have failed to influence the attitudes of the workers' class in the victorious countries of Western Europe. Things were cooking in Italy, but workers in other countries sabotaged arms shipments to Poland; for example Czechoslovak workers. The French seamen's uprising in the Black Sea earlier also says something.

[Gadzinowski] Did the Warsaw victory save Poland's independence and prevent Poland from becoming a 17th republic?

[Hass] That opinion is based on a stereotyped way of thinking whereby Soviet Russia in 1920 was the same as Stalinist Russia in the thirties, in other words a state ruled in a dictatorial manner that erased culture and national differences. Yet in 1920, the path of events was still not predetermined. A victorious revolution in Germany would have shifted the Bolshevik revolution's center of gravity onto a workers' class that possessed great traditions of organization and self-government. German industry would have been at the disposal of the revolution. A revolution in Germany would have meant a revolution in Austria and Hungary. One cannot imagine the German workers' class letting itself be incorporated into some republic. One cannot even speculate where the capital of such a union of socialist states would have been. On the other hand, many of the problems with which the Bolsheviks had to cope, such as the industrialization of Russia and collectivization, might have been solved more easily and less painfully.

[Gadzinowski] Was the "miracle on the Vistula" a death blow for a European revolution?

[Hass] It did halt the revolutionary tide in Europe, and was one of the reasons behind the emergence of Stalinism. The 1920 defeat and the collapse of the West

European proletariat's faith in revolution made the bureaucracy adopt a feeling of resignation, a feeling that it was necessary to settle down somehow.

Public Opinion Poll on Katyn Results Published

AU1708151988 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 13 Aug 88 p 3

[Article signed "(aga)": "History—Blank Spots—Katyn"]

[Excerpts] The Public Opinion Research Main Center has recently presented results of three public polls: "The past as the subject of the Polish people's interest and discussions," "Public opinion about so-called blank spots in history." and "Public opinion about the Katyn crime." [passage omitted]

Of the 403 respondents who are aware of the existence of blank spots in history, 102 or 25.3 percent thought that government policy is responsible for these spots and claimed that the authorities manipulate history, seek to stress favorable issues and suppress unfavorable ones, and promote issues that jibe with the current raison d'etat.

For 11.7 percent of respondents, international political factors are responsible for the blank spots, and for 8.7 percent of them, the ideological and propaganda principles valid in our country are responsible. On the other hand, 6 percent of respondents thought that the authorities seek to consign to oblivion the people who objected to socialism in the past or who represent wise political programs which are better than socialist programs, and to obliterate events that attest to successes of forces other than left-wing forces. [passage omitted] The authors of the report on the public opinion poll with regard to the Katyn crime state at the beginning: "Presenting this issue, we do not take any position on the historical background and the course of that tragedy of almost 50 years ago. The only thing we want to do is to determine what segments of respondents have received information about Katyn, and whom the Polish public blames for that crime."

The Katyn crime was known to 81.6 percent of adult respondents and to 85.9 percent of young people. Most respondents blamed the Soviet authorities of that time, Stalinism, and Hitlerite Germany for the Katyn crime, and a large ratio of respondents found it difficult to allot responsibility.

The authors of the report state that the results of the Katyn opinion poll show that respondents are not unanimous in allotting responsibility for Katyn.

The differences of opinion about events of almost 50 years ago show that there is no information about Katyn that the Polish public can regard as completely credible.

Former Judge Criticizes Jansa Trial, Army
AU1708155488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 88 p 3

[J. Pjevic report: "Krivic 'Throws Off' Guilt"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 Aug—Vladimir Krivic has revealed his judgment on the Ljubljana military trial regarding divulging military secrets, "military power and ideological pressure," "the abolition of the Slovene army," and so forth in the Ljubljana youth magazine MLADINA.

According to Krivic, the main objective of the "military trial in Ljubljana is to eliminate all the young intellectuals led by Jansa who represent (to the Army) a 'thorn in the flesh,' and to 'hinder and totally eliminate the process of democratization in Slovenia, because the Army is very concerned about the spreading of this process of democratization in other parts of Yugoslavia.'" Krivic is very pleased that ordinary young and old people in Slovenia are beginning to feel and understand our position and some key questions such as 1941 more profoundly, especially considering that in some other republics there are many who are still taken in by certain campaigns (primarily against Slovenia, Kosovo, and to a some extent Vojvodina). Moreover, he claims that every classical army (with the exception of the Swiss Army) acts according to so-called military logic, and that the army mentality is the military mentality. According to this military logic (our) Army is of the opinion that in the present situation it is the main and only protector of Yugoslavia's integrity. The more artificially created quarrels there are, the more the Army will realize its role through force because it does not know anything else. In this way, Krivic said, efforts are not being made at all to resolve problems through well-argued discussions and democratic dialogue that would mobilize the creative forces, but through military force and ideological pressures.

In this way, instead of being the guardian of our independence and democracy (humaneness), the Army is becoming a factor which supports reactionary aspirations in our domestic policy. Instead of supporting the political and economic transformation, our Army, which is to say some of its leading decisionmaking sections (after Tito's and Kardelj's death), took the most tragic and catastrophic road for "rescuing" Yugoslavia, as if we had not learned the lesson from the past as to why the old Yugoslavia disintegrated and collapsed.

Krivic claims that the Slovenes have not had their army since 1945, and that they lost the army which very successfully, shoulder to shoulder, fought with other Yugoslav peoples in the most difficult geopolitical and strategic parts of Yugoslavia throughout the people's liberation struggle. Their army fought more than 6 months longer than the others and for this reason Slovenia suffered the proportionately greatest number of victims. He explained that by Tito's order the Slovene army was abolished in 1945 and was incorporated in the Yugoslav Army, and that this was said to be the condition for Yugoslavia receiving support from the West for its AVNOJ [Antifascist Liberation Council of Yugoslavia] policies. In other words this was done for the foreign policy reasons of that time....

Krivic stresses that it is funny and extremely short-sighted to hysterically reject as hostile attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army, the significantly smaller demands by Jansa and others regarding the use of the mother tongue as the language of command in the nationally homogeneous units of the Yugoslav People's Army (which was even the practice in the old Austria), as well as to prosecute them....

"Thanks" to MLADINA, we know now what Vladimir Krivic—a man who in addition to holding several political and state posts was also president of the Supreme Court, president of the Constitutional Court of Slovenia, and prior to his retirement the judge of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia—thinks about our Army and the "abolition of the Slovene army." In addition, he became "famous" for his role as the public prosecutor during the well-known Dachau trials 40 years ago.

We ordinary mortals should believe it if a man with such a biography says that the "Ljubljana trial" and the entire activity of the Yugoslav People's Army are directed against young intellectuals, democracy, and the political and economic reforms of our society—and that they are supporting reactionary aspirations—that the Slovene partisan army was abolished after World War II, that since then the Slovenes have not had their army, that only the Slovene partisan army fought for the liberation of Yugoslavia 6 months longer than anybody else and the whole of the Yugoslav People's Army did not, that Jansa is being prosecuted for demanding the use of the mother tongue as the language of command in the Yugoslav People's Army and not for something else, and so forth. However, how can we believe him when he does not produce even a single piece of evidence for his claims, and when at present the facts show something completely opposite? Perhaps Vladimir Krivic, who was promoted as a doctor by MLADINA, will reveal his arguments and evidence for his assertions in the announced lengthy interview in MLADINA, or perhaps he will shower us with new insinuations, unfounded claims, and a false presentation of history.

Montenegrin Daily Criticizes Human Rights Body
AU1708134288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 88 p 11

[Radomir Tomic commentary reprinted from Titograd POBJEDA: "Defense of the 'Naughty Soldier'"]

[Text] To judge by at least some occurrences in recent days, the democratic revitalization of Yugoslav society has reached the stage which asks "to be or not to be?" about this exceptionally important social process. To put it mildly, the confusing attitude of certain groups, mainly

of intellectuals, toward some, hitherto conditionally said, almost untouchable achievements in the development of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav self-managing socialism, resembles in many ways an open conflict with the political concepts which in essence have almost no points of contact. Some of these concepts have acquired a political and formal, legal legitimacy, as well as a recent institutional framework through the founding of a committee and council for the protection of human rights and freedoms.

In principle, there are no reasons whatsoever for the judgements made in advance by these committees and councils because there is a similar body which was set up as a forum of action a few months ago within the SAWPY Federal Conference. Moreover, Yugoslavia is a signatory of about 30 of the 40 international charters on the protection of human freedoms and rights (for example, the United States is a signatory of 17 charters) and in the end this fact commits us to having the appropriate form of organization within our own borders. In any case, one of the basic tenets of self-managing socialism says: Man is the greatest wealth and has the greatest value.

Committees and councils would, therefore, have to put man at the focus of their attention and to direct all their action toward protecting his dignity, freedom, and rights.... However, this humane mission should develop in the institutions of the system and through democratic "pressure" and the action of the available public opinion, "breaking up" in this way all the ossified forms of bureaucratic self-protection and indifference to man and his rights. Any political option behind these efforts would only compromise and totally devalue the humane essence of these committees and councils.

The action of people on the Slovene Initiative Council (and these are prominent personalities from the political, cultural, and public life of the republic) began, and is now already within an international framework, with the well-known arrest of Jansa, Borstner, and Tasic (Zavrl was set free pending the trial) for disclosing military secrets. The atmosphere which was, in fact, created by the activities of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedom with the full support of MLADINA, KATEDRA, and even Ljubljana Television, threatened to let the various gatherings, meetings, and other displays held before, during, and after the trial develop into open confrontation and their own kind of settling of political accounts with the legal institutions of the system, whose purposefulness had never been brought into question before in any part of Yugoslavia. It will certainly remain unknown as to whether the unprecedented campaign against the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and the occurrences of the mistreatment of the children of Army personnel in Maribor, Ljubljana, and Kranj were in the interests of the creators of this defense of the rights and freedoms of the four men who were later convicted (and sent to prison). However, it is known that the Initiative Council itself, on the other hand, has not held one single meeting where it has called on individuals and groups to stop provoking soldiers, military personnel, and their families....

At the same time, members of the Initiative Council immediately reacted to another occurrence which only demonstrates that they want to continue the open attacks on the YPA at any price. Their "stimulus" came from the trial of the soldier Tomo Bogataj, a Ljubljana man doing his military service in Sarajevo. To remind ourselves, Bogataj offended the national feelings of other soldiers by fully supporting a chauvinist and even genocidal attitude toward the non-Slovene population.

However, all this was not enough for the Initiative Council. On the contrary, the justifications for the behavior of this "naughty soldier" and the demands for his release were sought on all sides, and this action reached its height with a letter from the Council to the SFRY Presidency which claims without any reasoned argument that the whole "Bogataj case" was staged by the YPA security service. The Council kept completely silent about the horrendous chauvinist theory of this young man (if it is only his) in the same way that they strenuously hush up all the other nationalist outbursts of hate which occasionally come from groups and individuals in Slovenia with regard to the other peoples and nations.

The Slovene "examples," therefore, do not open up the question of whether Yugoslavia needs these councils and committees for the protection of human rights and freedoms or not, but the question of whom do they defend, and on what (civilized) basis? The "Jansa and Bogataj cases" warn us that their interest in man and his dignity is only marginal and, to judge by everything, at the center of their attention are political options which have virtually nothing to do with the civilized heritage that the council members otherwise very frequently invoke. Objectively speaking, this action by the Council does not contribute to the open process of the democratic revitalization of Yugoslav society. On the contrary! It is also bothered by the forces which support a firm grip and the conservation of the bureaucratic-statist chains in which there is hardly any room for man and his dignity.

Anti-Albanian Graffiti in Novi Sad Condemned

AU1708153988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 88 p 12

[Z. Serences report: "Graffiti On Bridge"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 15 Aug—Yesterday morning, graffiti appeared on the piers of the Liberty Bridge in Novi Sad. Passersby coming from the direction of Sremska Kamenica could see three slogans written in red paint on the white bridge piers. "Long live Serbia"; then four Cyrillic

letters "s" [as in the Serbian coat of arms] above which there was a drawing of a Serbian national cap; and finally, the horrifying nationalist message "Death to Albanians."

These messages, that are difficult to imagine in Vojvodina, where intranational relations have traditionally been stable, were shown in the Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian news programs on Novi Sad television last night. These programs concluded that everybody was greatly shocked by the call to exterminate Albanians. The commentator of the Hungarian news program said that this is only one of the consequences of the irresponsible politicization directed toward national feelings and of the emergence of provocative reporting and mass gatherings on a nationalist basis which occasionally turn into mass hysteria. The commentary in the Serbo-Croatian news program stated, among other things, the following:

"One must say that these slogans are identical to many slogans heard at protest meetings in connection with the situation in Kosovo, and with one of the most important stages in changing the Constitution. In these slogans certain individuals demand the abolition of the present constitutional status and position of the provinces as democratic self-managing sociopolitical communities."

So far, we have not managed to receive any official information about the writers of this graffiti, nor any details connected with this graffiti from the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs nor from the City Conference of the Novi Sad SAWP.

Bosnia LC Favors Serbian Constitutional Change

AU1708152288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 88 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Importance of Unity in Serbia"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 15 Aug (TANJUG)—In the view of the Bosnian LC Central Committee Presidium, the forthcoming changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia are very important for unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia. The Presidium concluded that it was very positive that the Assembly of the SR of Serbia had adopted the draft changes to this republic's Constitution, which will be publicly debated. It is realistic to expect that the maximum involvement of the LC in implementing the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and the LCY Conference through a democratic and well-argued discussion will result in solutions that will enhance togetherness in the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The Presidium of the Bosnian LC Central Committee also stressed that the public discussion and the work of the SFRY Constitutional Commission so far have demonstrated that it is necessary to initiate activities on drawing up a new Constitution.

Bread Prices Rise 25-90 Percent in Montenegro

LD1708152088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0921 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Titograd, 17 August (TANJUG)—The price of bread in Montenegro has been increased by between 25 and 90 percent, depending on the type. The price of semi-white bread remains unchanged for the time being and bakers are still obliged to produce this type of bread as 30 percent of their daily production.

More on Dizdarevic Speech on Economic Reform

LD1708184588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—We have become entangled in red tape, economic illogicalities, and to a great extent, I must say, in the squandering of social funds. This is why, looking for solutions, we saw that there was only one way: radical economic reform, which means complete market orientation for Yugoslavia's economy, with a far greater opening of Yugoslavia than has happened so far to positive influences from the world. Both the influence of the world market and—of course a part of it—the influence of the progress that the world is going through from the development of new technologies, new production organization, and so on.

Economic reform is thus the way out of the problems and an opening to the path of more certain progress—the path we were on up unitl 7 or 8 years ago. Of course, this requires serious changes in our behaviour.

This was stated by SFRY Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic in Vares on Monday, 15 August.

What is now essential for realizing economic reform in Yugoslavia? asked Raif Dizadrevic. He continued:

It is essential to create both economic prerequisites through current economic policy and current economic trends for steps we are about to make—and an economic atmosphere so that we can concentrate all our forces on achieving economic reform. Are we doing this?

Are we creating conditions, through current economic trends and efforts and even through current economic policy, for the consistent implementation of the economic measures we have taken and the consistent implementation of the reform as a whole, which is now being developed in the FEC commission for the economic reform? I think our achievement in this field is only partial.

Which economic policy goals charted out for this year, the implementation of which is the prerequisite for the economic reform, are being implemented and which are not? We are implementing the goals of Yugoslavia's foreign-economic relations with the world and Yugoslavia's greater opening to the world. Our exports this year are increasing, as is foreign exchange income. As recently

as 8 to 9 months ago we were facing a crisis regarding the country's foreign currency reserves, and now our reserves are higher than in the previous years. I must say that the influx of foreign currency is even more rapid than expected. The foreign exchange market that we feared "like the devil fears the cross" is doing well. In this field we are achieving the goals of the economic policy this year, creating opportunities for further implementing the reform, the economy's revival, and the acceleration of development.

As you already know, we passed our first economic measures in May, after the so-called price freeze period, because that was not really a price freeze, only fiction. It turned out once again that prices grow best when frozen.

Dizdarevic stressed that we have embarked on the first major steps for liberalizing prices and import, and financially reorganizing our external situation, creating conditions for comprehensive changes in the economic system which, when the work is completed, will mean that we will have what we call economic reform. I must say, stressed Dizdarevic, that the atmosphere in the economic reform commission, which is chaired by the FEC president, is very good. Numerous solutions have been reached so far which, I can say, are better than the initial ideas. Very good solutions have also been reached in our work so far on the constitutional amendments regarding the part of consitutional amendments regulating the constitutional basis for changes to the economic system and the system of economic activity as a whole. Let us hope that this will continue in the future and that in such an atmosphere and with such a degree of responsibility we will bring matters to end, said Dizdarevic.

However, in other areas, when it is a question of other goals which we have set ourselves for this year, we are not implementing the policy which we adopted, nor are we moving toward the goals which we established.

First of all, we have not succeeded in boosting production this year, said Dizdarevic. Of course, there are many reasons for this. Up to now we have not ensured this for this year. I must say that the reasons also lie in the fact that we did not pass all the necessary current economic policy measures on time, that we are involving ourselves unequally at all levels of social responsibility—in the federation, in the republics and provinces, in the communes, in associated labor—and in the elementary fact, which we often lose sight of, that we cannot have more than we produce. Only on the one level of increased production, that is, the boosting of industry, the creation of (?greater value), greater riches, can we have more and act more. The psychology of division still dominates the psychology of production. And, the other aim which we have set ourselves for this year and where, unfortunately, we cannot boast about the results—and this is an error for which we all bear responsibility—is that of inflation. We will achieve nothing of the goal which we set ourselves, and neither will the results we are achieving in the foreign economic sphere endure, if we do not halt the rise in inflation.

And we have not yet halted it. In the past 7 months, calculating from July last year to now [as received], inflation was about 190 percent though we set a target this year of 95 percent. At the SFRY Presidency session on Friday, which was also attended by some of the leading people in the federation, this was one of the issues to which we devoted greatest attention. I must say that this is the primary topic when it comes to the performance of the state Presidency and to the issues which have to be addressed by all federal and local organs.

We have already discussed the effect of price rises on economic activity and on the predicament of working people, on their everyday life and mood, their hardships so to speak. Of course, such a rise in inflation has serious consequences—a fall in real personal standards and real personal incomes.

We think that all attention should be concentrated on halting the further rise in inflation and on efforts to curb it. The period up to the end of the year must be a period of efforts and responsibility in this direction on the part of everyone.

And, of course, there is the responsibility of everyone for what he is doing or has not done but was supposed to do.

We are not satisfied—I must say this openly—with the fact that when it comes to efforts to curb inflation, we are not behaving in an equally responsible way and individual organs are not taking timely and well-thought-out measures—a specific well-elaborated series of measures. One measure is a prerequisite for another and, of course, all this is geared to halting or curbing the rise in inflation. We are not investing the same amount of effort. We swear by reforms and by our intention to curb inflation but we do not all behave in the same way. I will illustrate this with a number of examples: The liberalization of prices has been understood by some as an opportunity to extort money and not to establish prices which have an economic base and logic and which can be justified on the market.

You know that some product prices increased by as much as 300 percent and there were cases in the Federal Institute for Prices of demands for an 800-percent increase. We asked the FEC to put aside foreign currency funds so as to enable us to import goods to counterbalance domstic goods whose prices have increased the most—price increases which have no economic justification or logic—so that we can curb the domestic prices simply by importing goods.

And what happened? It was not possible for the representatives of the republics and provinces on the FEC to agree so that we could go ahead. This was because in some republics and provinces goods are being manufactured whose prices have gone so high as to be unbearable and untenable for the rest of us. The manufacturers did not want to agree to this. We passed a decision on Friday on a temporary measure for going ahead with this import scheme. By this, I wish to say that it is impermissible to act in the way: "I favor a reform which suits me, but I am not if it is taking something away from me, even if I never earned or deserved that something." Comrades, there can be no reforms with such behavior. We lost a great deal behaving in this way because we passed a great deal of positive measures which failed because we did not act together. We will, of course, take those measures which would ensure reforms and the elements of reforms, such as this one on temporary imports, whether agreement is reached or not, when this is in the interest of the reform course we have agreed on.

Speaking of what I just mentioned, we must seek ways to revive economic activity, and consequently economic growth, by means of better planned investment activity. You saw that some programs have now been launched which will have such an effect, such as the program to build the Bratstvo-Jedinstvo freeway, etc. By the way, speaking of the freeway and roads in general, let me mention that that attitude in this case is contrary to the one we agreed to. The FEC submitted to the SFRY Assembly the draft law on the construction of a road network and this was a program much bigger than the Bratstvo-Jedinstvo one. This did not go ahead. Why not? Because everyone wanted to build some sort of "their own road" into this program and of course, it all ended up with haggling, the result of it being a situation in which it turns out that what is being built in one part is not good for another part of the country. Well comrades, everything which is built in Yugoslavia, in any of its parts—municipality or republic—is in the interest of this Yugoslavia and is for the benefit of this Yugoslavia. Those who think otherwise should be ashamed of themselves.

It was said today that demands on the economy, contributions, and taxes are not being reduced. This is true. We must now take the direction of reductions with more resolve. I will give one example to illustrate the fact that there is room for reductions. Three days ago there were 1.6 trillion new dinars' worth of blocked and frozen funds on the accounts of self-managing interest communities in Yugoslavia which cannot be used and which lose their value because they are kept on these accounts and cannot be treated as fixed-term deposits. Considering that it is not allowed for those interest communities which have these funds to make their own decisions on reducing contributions, this is truly an attitude which is beyond and contrary to the course we have agreed on, said Raif Dizdarevic.

The law which was passed and which restricted the growth of personal incomes was passed out of necessity. It is contrary to the philosophy of reforms. Why? Because it introduces restrictions which kill the motivation to work and without this motivation there can be no market motivation, market behavior, or stimulus for a far bigger, better, organized, more productive, and better value labor. But we had to accept this because it is not possible to curb inflation without a certain deceleration in the growth of personal incomes.

This is a sacrifice made by the working people, especially those whose contribution to the overall income is greater by far than their relative earnings. It is our orientation that already now, at the beginning of the fall, we will try to improve this relationship, so that those who work better will earn more; they will have greater possibilities for personal incomes: Of course, not in a linear manner but according to one's contribution to progress. Serious work needs to be done in this respect in organizations to get rid of the tendency to level the incomes.

Are we creating the political conditions for the implementation of the economic reform? Are we creating, by our political commitment, the atmosphere in which we all concentrate to the maximum on implementation of the economic reform, on the revival of the economy, on faster development? I do not think so. I even think that, unfortunately, many political trends in the country are digging a grave for the economic reform rather than contributing to efforts to implement it. Look how much energy is being used for negative politization of certain events and differences, the number of bureaucratic conflicts, the narrow-mindedness in relations as well as between individual leaderships. There is, I would say, a bureaucratic stupor that leads to mutual revenge, to seeing who will act more maliciously. There are so many phenomena which disunite us at the expense of the stability and unity of the country.

You have seen the rise of political confrontation, various pressures, and undemocratic methods in the search for solutions for the real problems which exist, as well as for the problems in relations between individual leaderships and individual parts of the country; the fanning of political passions and neglect of the interests of Yugoslavia as a whole. This also shows the immaturity and irresponsibility of individual people in the leaderships who have either forgotten their duty or achieved leadership status by mistake. If they achieved it by mistake, then we are all guilty of it. This, of course, threatens the unity of the country and our efforts to get out of this situation, of these economic difficulties and to use our energy for those things which will get us on the road to progress and not keep us on the road of stagnation. I must say that there are many cases of responsibility before the public being replaced by incitement of the public, of one environment against another, by agitation in some environments against the organs of Yugoslavia and of the federation, or against the Yugoslav People's Army as an essential element of the unity and integrity of the country, that is agitation against what is common to us all. You have seen how some people are being called

names, how they are easily labelled and denounced without arguments, so much so that the Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium have had to intervene twice or three times recently to stop this. Unfortunately, I do not think that appeals are sufficient. Measures should be taken to remind everyone of his obligation to behave in a democratic society and that there should be no anarchy in the society.

In all that is happening, Raif Dizdarevic continued, there is unfortunately a lot of tolerance for nationalist phenomena which make way for nationalism. I must say that there are individuals and leaderships which play with the national feelings of the people, which should be respected and nourished, and which, I would say, fan nationalist passions. We have bitter experience with Kosovo. We know what nationalist indoctrination of the young means. This nationalist indoctrination, once carried out, goes on because we are dealing with the coming generation and this is difficult to overcome. Unfortunately, those who now carry out indoctrination in some parts of the country with the same negative consequences, that is nationalist, narrow national, or separatist indoctrination, keep forgetting this bitter experience which we have in Yugoslavia and which has been causing us great difficulties for 7 or 8 years.

In the SFRY Presidency, we are determined to carry out our constitutional duty regarding relations between the nationalities, between republics and provinces in a united Yugoslavia, guarding and strengthening the equality of all, as well as the responsibility of all for what is common, what is called Yugoslavia, because without Yugoslavia there is nothing. Whoever thinks he has made a profit by, how should I put it, a shortsighted bureaucratic combination at a certain moment, is badly mistaken because this undermines the foundations on which we all can exist—and only together, never on our own. You know that the SFRY Presidency decided to use a federal joint detachment of a militia, which has been in Kosovo for several months already. Considering that the situation in Kosovo is still such that the personal security and property of the Serbs and Montenegrins are constantly threatened, and that respect for law is also insufficient, we have decided that the joint detachment of a militia in Kosovo should assist security organs there in securing and strengthening the personal security and property of all citizens in Kosovo, above all of course of the Serbs and Montenegrins who are subjected to pressure, but, I repeat, of all citizens in Kosovo.

We can try to solve problems in Kosovo only by restoring intranational trust, by restoring unity and harmony. Nobody in Kosovo has any prospects or future in national quarrels and discord, Raif Dizdarevic said among other things in a long speech to the political-economic aktiv of the Vares Municipality.

Briefs

Privately Published Magazine

Yugoslavia has gained its first magazine released by a private publisher. BASTINA (HERITAGE), a culture magazine, was published by Belgrade literature student Boban Tomic. Tomic printed 1,000 copies of the first edition with funds provided by himself and several Yugoslav firms. BASTINA includes articles about the Bajina Basta area in Serbia. Bajina Basta is Tomic's birthplace and he printed the magazine there. The 145-page magazine includes several articles on Bajina Basta, historic events, significant personalities and cultural monuments in the area focusing on Raca Monastery, built by Serbian King Dragutin in the 13th century. [Text] [*LD1608012088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1046 GMT 15 Aug 88*]

Computer Data Link Established

Yugoslavia's TANJUG news agency has established a direct computer link with the world's leading data banks, enabling the Yugoslav economy to get the latest information on international tenders directly. TANJUG has so far contracted the use of data with four of the world's largest organizations for mediating access to data bases throughout the world—the U.S. system "Dialogue", the British system "Data Star", the E.C. data base "Echo" and the special data base on projects in underdeveloped countries "Scan-a-Bid". These data bases release information on all activities of most countries, including information from CMEA countries. TANJUG is currently working on a project to enable users in Yugoslavia to directly request access to data bases through their computer units. [Text] [*LD1808000888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1043 GMT 17 Aug 88*]